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THE
DRAPIER'S LETTERS
TO
the People of Ireland



PORTRAIT OF THE DRAPIER

$\frac{3}{75}$ THE
Drapier's Letters

TO THE
PEOPLE OF IRELAND

against receiving

WOOD'S HALFPENCE

By

JONATHAN SWIFT

Edited by

HERBERT DAVIS

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P R E F A C E

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University; and I am indebted to a number of other American libraries for information kindly sent to me in answer to my inquiries. I am under special obligation to the Yale College Library for the privilege of using their magnificent Wagner Collection of Irish pamphlets, and for their readiness to assist me in every possible way, while I was there and since, by the loan of books and the provision of photostats.

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I must be permitted, however, to acknowledge one or two special favours, and some debts of longer standing. I wish to thank Sir Edwin Deller, Principal of the University of London, for first showing me the beautiful copies of the *Drapier's Letters* in the Goldsmiths' Library, including what seems to be a unique copy of the first edition of the *Letter to the Shopkeepers &c.* in folio, which has not been hitherto noticed in the bibliographies of Swift. Mr. Charles Fitzgerald was good enough to bring me his copy of Sir John Browne's *Tracts*, from Swift's library, so that I could examine the marginal comments in Swift's handwriting. Mr. Harold Williams has most generously helped me during the last four years, by providing me with opportunities to examine books in his possession connected with the *Drapier*, and by allowing me to benefit, as much as I was able, from his great experience as a collector and bibliographer. Professor Nichol Smith discussed with me my first plans, and to him I have from time to time brought my difficulties. He also very kindly lent me his proofs of the *Letters of Swift to Ford*, with permission to use whatever I wanted. For this advice and help and for his earlier guidance, which first aroused my interest in eighteenth-century studies, I am most grateful.

H. D.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
TORONTO.

March, 1935.

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INTRODUCTION

I. HISTORICAL

THE controversy about Wood's Copper Coinage, which was the occasion of the *Drapier's Letters*, is of course a minor episode in Irish history; and the dangers which were anticipated from that project were doubtless exaggerated. But it is not difficult to understand the excitement it caused, if we remember the general condition of affairs in Ireland after the Revolution of 1688, and the strong feeling that had been aroused there against complete subordination to the interests of England.

Already in 1698 William Molineux had pointed out that 'the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the Parliament of *England* have received the greatest Corroborations since his Majesty's Accession to the Throne; and so have the *Rights* of *Scotland*; but the *Rights* of the People of *Ireland*, on the other Hand, have received the greatest Weakening under his Reign, by our Submission (as 'tis alledged) to these Laws that have been made for us'.¹ And after a careful examination of his case, he concluded with a dangerous challenge: '*That Ireland should be bound by Acts of Parliament made in England, is against Reason, and the Common Rights of all Mankind.*'² Swift is more specific in his protest against the regulations of Irish trade and agriculture which had been made in England both under Charles II and William III: 'Ireland is the only Kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern history, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at

¹ Molineux, W., *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated* (London 1720), p. 97.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

war with their own Prince or State, yet this by the superiority of mere power is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce, besides an Act of Navigation to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed, and a thousand other unexampled circumstances as grievous as they are invidious to mention.¹

And in 1720 the Irish claims for political independence had been completely answered (as a result of the Annesley case) by an Act for securing the political Dependency of Ireland, in which it was emphatically stated 'That the said kingdom of Ireland, hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto and dependent upon the imperial crown of *Great Britain*, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons of *Great Britain* in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the Kingdom and people of Ireland.'² There can be no doubt that it was a sense of being thus completely subordinated and dependent, both economically and politically, that was the real source of the violence and bitterness of the opposition against Wood's Coinage. Swift himself had already revealed the cause of his own indignation in his earlier pamphlet on Irish affairs, written in 1720—*A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, &c.

"The Scripture tells us that "oppression makes a wise man mad". Therefore, consequently speaking, the reason why some men are not mad, is because they are not wise: However, it were to be wished that oppression

¹ *A Short View of the State of Ireland, Works* (ed. Temple-Scott), vol. vii, pp. 85-6.

² 6 Geo. I, c. 5, *Statutes at Large* (Cambridge, 1765), vol. xiv, p. 204.

would in time teach a little wisdom to fools.'¹ Swift's anger was always divided between the stupidity of the Irish and the rapacity of the English. He was never sentimental about Ireland; but after all, he was Dean of St. Patrick's in Dublin, and he felt it intolerable that the chief ministers at the Castle should 'look down upon this kingdom as if it had been one of their colonies of outcasts in America',² and that the Whig ministry in London should be concerned with Ireland only in so far as it could be exploited on behalf of the English interest.

And now again in 1722, towards the end of the summer, there was talk of a Patent for providing a copper coinage for Ireland, which had been entirely settled in London, without any reference whatever to the Irish Parliament, or even to the Commissioners of the Revenue in Dublin. Moreover, it was quickly rumoured that it was a 'vile job', from which the patentee—one William Wood—expected enormous profits, sufficient to warrant a bribe of £10,000 to the Duchess of Kendal for her assistance in procuring him the Grant. The Patent was dated July 12, 1722, and authorized Wood to coin during the next fourteen years 360 tons of copper, which at the rate of 30*d.* to the pound weight of pure copper made the total value of the currency thus authorized £100,800. This was a very large sum in proportion to the rest of the currency, which was estimated at less than four times that amount. Swift himself suggests that £10,000 worth of halfpence would have been quite sufficient to make the supply adequate. But a greater cause of complaint was the practice of granting patents for coinage to any private person, which had often resulted in abuses of various kinds, and had been the subject of constant criticism in Ireland since the Restoration.

¹ *Irish Manufactures, Works*, vol. vii, pp. 21-2.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

On this occasion there had been no opportunity for criticism. No one in Ireland had been consulted as to whether the coinage was required at all, or, if any was needed, how it could be most conveniently supplied. Indeed, it was not until more than a year after the passing of the Patent that a copy of the Grant authorizing the coinage reached Ireland, although before then a large quantity of the halfpence had been sent over.

It is not surprising therefore that the following protest was sent on August 7, 1722, to the Right Honble. Edward Hopkins, Esq., Secretary to His Grace the Duke of Grafton, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, from the Commissioners of the Revenue in Dublin:

‘Sir,

We were much surprised by a Letter from our Agent Mr. French, giving us an Account of a Patent, which is about to be passed in favour of some private Persons to authorize them to Coin Half Pence and Farthings, for the Use of this Kingdom, together with a Copy of a Memorial delivered by him to the Lords of the Treasury relating thereto. Of which Memorial as We approve, We have sent you a Copy enclosed, and also a Report of some former Commissioners of the Revenue here on the like occasion, which We desire you will lay before My Lord Lieutenant and at the same time to acquaint His Grace, that We entirely Concur in all the objections in the inclosed Papers, and are farther of Opinion, That such a Patent will be highly Prejudicial to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom, and more particularly to his Majesty’s Revenue, which we have formerly found by Experience to have Suffered very much by too great a Quantity of the like small base Coin. We desire that you would farther Represent to his Grace, that as this affair has already made a great noise here, the Mischiefs and Inconveniences which must necessarily attend it

(more especially, as to the Deficiency in the Revenue) may be very prejudicial to his Majesty's Affairs in Parliament.

'There being at present not the least want of such small species of Coin for Change is another reason for our giving You this trouble.'¹

The Memorial referred to above, which had been delivered to the Lords of the Treasury by Mr. French, drew attention to the abuses of the Copper Coinage made by Col. Roger Moore in King William's reign: 'in time such great Quantity of that Copper Coin was almost insensibly Dispersed among the People there, especially among such as sold Beer, Ale, Brandy and other Liquors, Tobacco and such like Commodities, that at length the same became a Burden to the Revenue there . . .'

'the Collectors of the Revenue got so much—especially when the Army refused to accept it—that it had to be kept in Casks . . .'

'The same thing would happen again unless Woods be made to give sufficient Security by Bonds or Recognizance to exchange from time to time and give upon Request other Current Coin in Silver and Gold for the said Half Pence and Farthings.' The 'Report from some former Commissioners of the Revenue', also referred to, was sent on June 14, 1705, to the Duke of Ormonde, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, protesting against granting a patent at that time for coining two-pences and threepences of worse alloy for the following reasons: first, that there was no need at that time for small change; and secondly, if there were need, it was 'inconvenient to put the Power of Coining Copper

¹ P.R.O.; S.P. 63, vol. 380. The official letters quoted here are all copied from the Irish State Papers in the Public Record Office, No. 63, vols. 380-5. They have not been calendared or indexed, but each volume consists of a bundle of papers arranged in chronological order.

Half Pence into any private Hands for a Term of Years Irrevocable, it seems to Us an Affair more proper for an immediate Office of the Crown &c.'

Again on September 19, 1722, a letter was sent direct to the Treasury in London from the Commissioners of Revenue in Dublin, referring to the Memorial already presented by their agent Mr. French, and adding further:

'We should not have given your Lordships a second trouble upon the same Subject; if many Persons of rank and fortune and the Merchants and Traders here apprehending that such a Patent will be highly prejudicial to the Trade and Welfare of this Kingdom, had not frequently applied to Us, desiring Us to join our Endeavours to prevent it, and our knowledge from former Experience that it will be more particularly detrimental to his Majesty's Revenue has also made it our Indispensable Duty, humbly to remonstrate against the same to your Lordships.

'We beg leave further to represent, that as this matter has already made a great noise here, the Mischiefs and Inconveniences, which in our opinion must necessarily attend it, may be prejudicial to his Majesty's Affairs in the Ensuing Parliament here, there not appearing at present the least want of such small Pieces of Coin for Change. We humbly hope that the Importance of the Occasion will excuse our making this Representation of a matter, that has not been referred to Us, And of which We should have had no knowledge but from the publick News Papers, if our Agent had not sent Us an account of it.'¹ No attention, however, was given to this protest, and in the summer of 1723 Wood began to make a number of private arrangements with tradesmen in Dublin to import considerable quantities of his coin. The following letter to John Molineux, an

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 380.

ironmonger in Meath Street, and a brother-in-law of William Wood, is probably a fair example of the usual procedure.

London, August 1st, 1723.

‘Sir,

We are under some agreement with Mr. Wood your Brother concerning the Copper Coyn Designed for Ireland he has promised to Deliver to our Order five hundred and Eighty Pound by Tale at your House. Sir We have agreed with Capt Nevill, who will wait on you for the said sum¹ of £580, which you Desire. Y^le please to Deliver to him upon such Security as shall be certain here (to Witt) a Bill drawn by some Person of Worth that you are Satisfied in, in Dublin that will be paid punctuall here for five hundred Pounds which is after the Rate of £116. Copper Money for £100 Ster. to be paid here without Expence, etc. . . .

Signed by Willm Lukin Goldsmith,
& John Pole Goldbeater.¹

The new Lord-Lieutenant, the Duke of Grafton, arrived in Dublin on August 13, 1723, and immediately found himself in a very awkward position. He had not been empowered to take any notice of the official protests that had already been made, and was obliged to profess complete ignorance of the Patent; but the following letter from Wood to his brother-in-law, John Molineux, shows that secretly he had committed himself to assist in this unofficial importation of the coin.

Aug. 10, 1723.

‘Dear Bro—

In order to Remove the Difficultys attending my Irish Coinage I waited upon the Lord Lieut: and made a Representation to him of the whole affair, as also I did to M^r Walpole, and I hope Entirely to the Satisfaction

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 381.

of them both, and tho' any one at Sight may be satisfied of the Goodness of the Copper, yet to put it out of all Dispute, I desired the Lords of the Treasury to order the Comptroller of the Mint to make his Report, which accordingly was done and Entirely in my favour as to every Part of the Coinage. This wholly Justifieth me, so that if any Complaint or Remonstrance in Parliament (which I have heard of) should be made, it can be in Effect no other than against his Majesty and Ministry for Making the Grant. I have also sent by M^r Whitchcot his Grace's Secretary an Exemplification of my Grant with the Great Seal affixed to be Registred in Ireland, and he has given Leave for you to wait upon him for Instructions how to Act therein, and promiseth his Assistance for which I Told him I would be very Gratefull.

'I desire You will Take the first Opportunity to see him and Assure him that you have Orders to Gratifye him for any Service he shall do therein.

'The Obstructions are of great Disservice to me at present but I have such Interest as not to fear any Ill Consequences and if your Kingdom Refuseth the Coin it will easily be Disposed of elsewhere.

'I have lately had one M^r Newsom a Quaker with me who would agree for the whole Quantity. He intends to be in Dublin as soon as the Lord Lieut and I believe will call on you. If you find he has Interest (as he pretends) and you can Joyn with him in any Application to proper Persons, I shall be Glad, and you shall always find me Ready to Serve you in this or any other Affair being with sincere Respects to all Friends

Y^r most affect: Bro^r

W. Wood¹

A few days later Wood again made use of this unofficial channel to communicate with the Lord-

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 381.

Lieutenant and send him 'a letter from the Lords of the Treasury with a Report of the Comptroller of the Mint of the Goodness of the Coinage'.

As soon as it became known that Wood was thus arranging to send over increasingly large quantities of his coin, and openly boasting that he could overcome the stupid objections of the Irish people, the feeling in Dublin against him began to grow more violent. The Duke of Grafton very quickly saw that the opposition was much more serious and widespread than had been realized in London, and already on August 22, in a confidential letter written in his own hand to Walpole, he reports what inquiries he has made, and expresses very emphatically his fears that there will probably be disagreeable consequences:

'After the Ceremony and Forms upon first coming into the Kingdom were a little over I took the first opportunity of discoursing with the Principall persons here, and with those likewise in whom I had most confidence upon a matter which I found was in every bodys mouth that I conversed with, and which I was inform'd was the subject of all conversations both in Town and Country, I mean the new Copper Money. I open'd it as a Point I had much at Heart and used all the Arguments I was Furnish'd with before I left you to induce them to come into my sentiments in order to support the Kings Patent. I am sorry to find that it is so distastefull to the Country that even those who are the most forward to enter into measures agreeable to our side of the water in all other instances dare not undertake the defence of this Patent. They allow that some objections made to it are frivolous but yet that there are some things in it so prejudicial to the Kingdom, and so much more so than in former Grants of the like kind that in their own opinion they cant like it, but to support it wou'd be to make them of little use to the Kings

Service hereafter, so much they shou'd lose all their credit in the Gentlemen who are very well affected to the Government. They give me reason to hope that other things which had raised some Clamour before I came hither may be kept from giving Disturbance to the Session in case people are not thrown into ill humour, by an opposition to what shall be moved in Parliament for their relief upon this Head. In what shape this will be introduc'd I can't yett learn nor doe I know whether it is yett settled, there being few members yett in Town, but I plainly see that there will be no avoiding some disagreeable proceeding upon it, and fear we shall be very much embarrass'd whatever turn it takes.

'I Perceive sometime agoe a Representation from the Council here wou'd have been press'd to be sent over to England upon this subject but was waved upon my being soon Expected over. A Paper has been printed here call'd Irelands Consternation wherein this Grant is sett out in the worst light, it is certainly writt by a downright Enemy and is plainly calculated to stir up ill blood but severall of our Friends seem to think that some of the objections are unanswerable. A stop is putt to the publication of it, but whether thro the discretion of the Printer or for the Author to amend it I am not sure, but we expect to see something of the same Kind abroad when the Parliament meets. . . .'¹

The pamphlet referred to in this letter opened the campaign. It was written by James Maculla² and was published about the middle of August. It was entitled:

'Ireland's Consternation In the loosing of Two Hun-

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 381.

² See below, p. 351. Maculla claimed that it was he who had opened the campaign against Wood. 'He was the earliest Person that Discovered the ill Consequences it might have had on this Kingdom.' *A Coinage or Mint, Proposed* (Dublin 1728), p. 4.

dred Thousand Pound of their Gold and Silver for Brass Money. Set forth by an Artificier in Metals And a Citizen of DUBLIN. Shewing the fatal Consequence of Coining in another Kingdom Three Hundred Tun Weight of Copper Half-Pence amounting to the Damage of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds *Sterl*: to this Nation, and the Continuance of the same for Fourteen Years.'

A good many of Maculla's fifteen points may perhaps be dismissed (as in the margins of the official copy)¹ as either 'not true or not material', but there is no doubt that his last sentence would have considerable effect as propaganda:—'*Note*, There is now a large Quantity past in a few Days of the said Change by divers of the Factors and others in this Kingdom, who have got Barrels if not Tun Weights of them landed, and are passing them with all the Artifice they can; and its believed they have enter'd them under wrong Denominations, and thereby paid little or no Duty, so that the said Change is already got into the Hands of the Poor and Middling People, some circulating them, and others refusing the same, part of the said Change lighter than the rest, stamp with the Harp forward on one side, and backward on the other, Edges snagled, and bulg'd, the said Half-pence made exceeding thin, its supposed all the Clippers and Counterfit Coiners in this Kingdom are or will be at Work making that Money, *viz.* in Bogs and Mountains, Dens and Caves, for such Halfpence as are thus made thick and thin, light and heavy, uncertain Mixtures, as also such as are not mill'd round the Edges, such Change so Coin'd cannot be supposed Manufactured by Vertue of any Law, Grant or Patent whatever, and therefore there is just Ground to believe the said Counterfit Coiners and Clippers are or will be immediately manufacturing them, and that this Nation

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 381.

will be over-run therewith, if the publick are not on their Guard in the Taking such Coin, and also some speedy Remedy had to stop the vast Inundation which is flowing like a great Sea, insomuch that the King and Parliament at their sitting will hardly have it in their Power to prevent so great a Mischief, but by crying them down, the which may prove fatal to the Publick, who before the sitting of the House probably may have parted with all their Gold and Silver in Exchange for such Halfpence, on Account of the great Praemiums given or allowed by their Factorers for the circulation thereof.¹

Even so good an Englishman as William Nicolson, Bishop of Derry, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury on September 10, 1723, was evidently not wholly unperturbed. 'What most alarms us is a general Apprehension of loseing all our Gold and Silver, in Exchange for Halfpence and Farthings of an Adulterate metal; which (as is computed) will carry off above 70 p. Cent. if they are allow'd to pass current. On this Topick the Commons were very warm yesterday: . . .'² The Irish Parliament had been prorogued since November 1715. When it met again on September 9, 1723, in spite of the efforts of the Lord-Lieutenant to prevent a Parliamentary consideration of the Grant, the House of Commons unanimously 'resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House to take into Consideration the State of the Nation, particularly in Relation to the importing and uttering of Copper Half-pence and Farthings in this Kingdom', and ordered the Commissioners of the Revenue to report on 'the quantity of Copper Halfpence and Farthings imported since Christmas 1722, and when and by whom the same were so imported'.³ A

¹ Maculla, J., *Ireland's Consternation*, p. 4.

² Christ Church Library, Oxford; *Wake MSS.*, vol. CCXLVII.

³ *Journals of House of Commons in Ireland*, vol. iii, p. 317.

few days later they requested that an Exemplification or Copy of the Patent and all papers concerning the copper money should be laid before the House. When they were informed that the Lord-Lieutenant had no copy of the patent, nor any papers concerning it, they ordered a number of tradesmen who were said to have been concerned with the importation of the coin to appear before the House 'to be examined in the most solemn manner'. This examination was to take place on September 16; on the same morning a copy of the patent was sent to the House with a message from the Lord-Lieutenant indicating that he had just received it. This little incident gave an opportunity for ridicule in a broadside, entitled *A Creed for an Irish Commoner*,¹ which lists in rather a crude fashion a number of astonishing propositions which the members of the House had been recently expected to accept.

The investigation proceeded, and included the consideration of former patents, with respect to particular safeguards inserted therein, reports on the amount of Wood's coin already sent over, and an estimate of its real value, which was presented by Mr. William Maple,² a chemist in Fishamble Street, who had made an assay of samples taken from four different parcels. Finally, on September 23 the Committee presented its report, which the House adopted and decided to present in the form of a humble Address to the King,³ setting forth in detail their objections to the Patent, and asking that such directions might be given as should prevent the fatal effects of uttering this coin.

At the same time the Irish House of Lords was concerned with the question, and inclined to be even more emphatic in condemning those who had been responsible for the scandal. 'The Address from the Lords

¹ See below, p. 354.

² See below, p. 234.

³ Reprinted below, pp. 193-5.

runs in the same Strain,' says Bishop Nicolson; 'Some little Endeavours were used to cast dirt (in the dark) on those who advis'd His Majesty to pass the Patent, and a couple of these Champions (one Spiritual & the other Temporal) were so Heroic as to protest against the Refusal of the House to embrace their Motion.'¹ These champions were the Archbishop of Dublin and the Earl of Abercorn.²

Grafton in his letters³ to Walpole during November gives an account of this activity against the Patent and calls attention to the fact that, though there would be a Recess of Parliament until December 12, a circular letter was to be sent, requiring the attendance of all Members, because of 'some affairs of the greatest consequence still depending' and not without 'some plain Insinuations that the passing of the Money Bill might depend upon the nature of His Majesty's Answers to the Addresses of Both Houses in relation to the Copper Coin intended for the Kingdom'. On November 16 His Majesty's Answer was received and laid before Parliament upon their first meeting after the Recess, on December 12. It stated that His Majesty was 'much concerned to see that his granting the Patent for coining halfpence and farthings, agreeable to the practice of his Royal Predecessors, has given so much concern, and if there have been any abuses committed by the Patentee, His Majesty will give the necessary orders for enquiring into and punishing those abuses and will do every thing that is in his power for the satisfaction of his people'. Copies of the replies⁴ of the two Houses were then sent to Walpole and Carteret on December 26. It is significant of the temper of the House, that in the reply of the Commons, returning

¹ Letter to Archbp. Wake, Oct. 1, 1723, *Wake MSS.*, CCXLVII.

² *Journals of House of Lords in Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 751.

³ S.P. 63, vol. 382.

⁴ *Ibid.*

their sincere thanks for His Majesty's most gracious Answer, they add a further and very specific request 'that he will be graciously pleased to give Directions to the several Officers concerned in the Receipt of His Majesty's Revenue, that they do not, on any Pretence whatsoever, receive or utter any of the said Copper Half-pence or Farthings, in any Payments to be made to, or by them'.

On March 10, six months after the unanimous protests of both Houses of Parliament had been received, Lord Carteret wrote to say that an inquiry had been ordered, and asked Grafton 'to give directions for sending over such Papers and Witnesses as shall be thought proper to support the objections made against the Patent, and against the Patentee, in the execution of the Powers given to him by the said Patent'.¹ It was certainly before the news of this inquiry had reached Ireland, and when it seemed as if little notice would be taken of the official and constitutional protests against the Patent, that Swift first intervened. For I think there is no doubt that he planned and wrote the Drapier's *First Letter* in February, even if it was not actually printed until early in March 1723/4.² It is impossible to say whether he alone was responsible for the new plan of organizing a complete boycott of the coin, but at least it was ultimately due to the activities of the Drapier that this was successful. The following passage from his letter to Ford, dated April 2, 1724, suggests that Swift had a good deal of assistance—if not in planning, at least in distributing the *Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* 'I came just now from a Commission with the Chancellor, ArchB^p Dublin &c. I spoke very severely to the knaves about the Farthings. I told them their Baseness and pusillanimity when they and others were sent for by the L^t upon that Subject. they all

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 383.

² See below, p. lxx.

talked as much against the Thing as I, but People are more in fear than ever. I do not know whether I told you that I sent out a small Pamphlet under the Name of a Draper, laying the whole Vilany open, and advising People what to do; about 2000 of them have been dispersed by Gentlemen in severall Parts of the Country, but one can promise nothing from such Wretches as the Irish People. if this Destructive business brings you over, aliquisque malo fuit usus in illo.¹

I can find no reference to this in the official correspondence; but perhaps Grafton had unpleasant things enough to communicate without mentioning a new development in the campaign, which might after all have little result. On March 20 and 24 he concerns himself² only with the demand for papers and witnesses, and confesses his inability to obtain the former, which were in the possession of the House of Commons, and with the insuperable difficulty of persuading any persons to go over as witnesses. On April 1 he was informed³ confidentially by Townshend of his recall, and of the nomination of Carteret to succeed him as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. Immediately after receiving official confirmation of this from the Duke of Newcastle on April 9, he made hurried preparations for his return. But before leaving on May 8, he received further instructions that 'the King did not wish any compulsion used to send over witnesses, but is surprised that there should be difficulty in persuading them in a matter which had caused so great a Clamour and which people there have thought of so great and such ill Consequence to that Kingdom'.⁴ To this Grafton replied that the difficulty was owing to their fear that 'any defeat or failure of their Evidence in England would

¹ *Letters of Swift to Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, Oxford 1935, p. 106.

² S.P. 63, vol. 383.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Letter from Newcastle*, April 14, 1724.

expose them to the Resentment of the People, and of the two Houses of Parliament here whom they all look upon as the Prosecutors'.¹

The hurried recall of the Lord-Lieutenant, the demand for witnesses to be sent over to England, and above all the newspaper reports from London had produced afresh 'a great combustion about the half-pence'. One of these reports from the *London Postman* is printed in Harding's paper for April 21, 1724, with a vigorous comment, which I think may be very confidently ascribed to Swift himself. It is in fact a sort of rough draft of the argument afterwards incorporated in certain paragraphs of the *Second Letter*, as shown particularly in the last sentence:

'But after all, is it possible without some Indignation to conceive a whole Kingdom kept in a Fright for so many Months by one *Obscure, Inconsiderable, Insignificant, Ill-designing Mechanick?*'

This is afterwards elaborated in the *Second Letter* as follows:

'... for sure there was never an Example in History, of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year, in daily Dread of utter Destruction; not by a powerful Invader at the Head of Twenty thousand Men; not by a Plague or a Famine; not by a tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more Gracious) or a corrupt Administration; but by one single, diminutive, insignificant Mechanick.'²

The only copy of this newspaper³ I have seen has been badly cut, but because of the great interest of this letter I have transcribed the whole of it, as well as I could:

¹ Ibid., *Letter to Newcastle*, April 23, 1724.

² See below, p. 24.

³ Gilbert Collection, Dublin; *Dublin Newspapers, 1701-1724*, 7 vols., fol. This and all subsequent quotations from Irish newspapers are taken from the last volume of this collection.

'(In) the Paper call'd The London Post-man, (dat)ed Apr. 17. 1724 was Publish'd the (follo)wing Paragraph, Dated London, (Apri)l 11. Yesterday a Committee of Council (sa)t at the Cockpit and had under Con(sid)eration the Representations made to (Hi)s Majesty by the Parliament of Ireland, (aga)inst the Patent granted to *Mr. Woods* (for) Coining Half-pence and Farthings for (th)at Kingdom, but no Evidence (appe)ar'd to prove the Mischiefs complain'd (of); *Mr. Woods* the Patentee, was heard (in) his own Defence, and Orders are given (for) an Essay to be made of its Fineness, (Va)lue and Weight, compar'd with the (for)mer Coinage of Ireland.

'We hope the Kingdom will observe (that) the Impudence of this same Woods is (eq)ual in its Kind to the Perniciousness (of this) Project. Here he gives us a Scene (in the) Committee of the English Council putting the Unanimous Representation of the (Parli)ament of *Ireland* into one Ballance, (and) his Half-pence into another. By this (*Wood's*) *Law* and *Logick*, when a whole (King)dom (and as Loyal a Kingdom as ever (Prin)ce possess'd) represents a Grievance to (its) Sovereign, by which they must in(evita)bly be ruined if it be not prevented, (their) Word must not be taken, they must (brin)g *Evidence* to prove the *Fact*, they (ough)t before their Prorogation to have (told) their Lawyers, and prepared their (busi)ness to stand the Suit with that *Ho(nest) Upwright Hard-Ware-man* *Mr. (Wo)ods*. And what is the Result? (Orde)rs are given for an Essay to be made (of th)e Fineness, Value and Weight of (the) Half-pence: For what End? To (comp)are it with former Coynage in *Ireland*. (So th)at if upon any great Emergency in (rec)ent Times when *Silver* and *Gold* were (rar)e, under the Pressure of War or any (other) Difficulties, base Coyn hath been (utter)'d, this Man would insinuate that (Pre)cedent will be

allow'd in Times of (Peace) and Plenty and under so happy an Administration of ours, and so his *Business* and *Ours* be *Done*. But God be thanked, we live under a Gracious King; the Patent does not pretend to oblige us to take this Coyn, and the Pamphlet lately Publish'd, Entituled, *A Letter to the Shop-Keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, &c.* upon this Subject, shews: *That by the Law no Man is bound in Payment to take any Money but Gold and Silver*; so that unless we Contribute to our own Destruction, *Mr. Wood's* Trash may lye upon his own Hands.

'But after all, is it possible without some Indignation to conceive a whole Kingdom kept in a Fright for so many Months by one *Obscure, Inconsiderable, Insignificant, Ill-designing Mechanick?*'

A week later, 'drawn out of his retirement by the importunity of the greatest persons in Ireland', Swift writes to Lord Carteret, the new Lord-Lieutenant, to inform him of the universal opposition to the Patent, and sends him a copy of the Drapier's *First Letter* and of a tract by Lord Abercorn, which was probably *The True State of the Case between the Kingdom of Ireland of the one Part, and Mr. William Wood of the other Part*.¹ It is a very characteristic letter:

'My Lord,

Many of the principal persons in this kingdom, distinguished for their loyalty to his present Majesty, hearing that I had the honour to be known to your Excellency, have for some time pressed me very earnestly, since you were declared Lord Lieutenant of this kingdom, to represent to your Excellency the apprehensions they are under concerning Mr. Wood's patent for coining halfpence to pass in Ireland. Your Excellency knows the unanimous sentiments of the

¹ See below, p. 355.

Parliament here upon that matter, and upon enquiry you will find that there is not one person of any rank or party in this whole kingdom, who does not look upon that patent as the most ruinous project that ever was contrived against any nation, neither is it doubted, that when your Excellency shall be thoroughly informed, your justice and compassion for an injured people will force you to employ your credit for their relief.

‘I have made bold to send you enclosed two small tracts on this subject; one written, as it is supposed, by the Earl of Abercorn, the other is entitled to a weaver, and suited to the vulgar, but thought to be the work of a better hand.

‘I hope your Excellency will forgive an old humble servant, and one who always loved and esteemed you, for interfering in matters out of his province; which he would never have done, if many of the greatest persons here had not, by their importunity, drawn him out of his retirement to venture giving you a little trouble, in hopes to save their country from utter destruction; for which the memory of your government will be blessed by posterity.

‘I hope to have the honour of seeing your Excellency here; and do promise neither to be a frequent visitor, nor troublesome solicitor; but ever, with the greatest respect, my Lord, remain etc.’¹

A few days before, Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam, had appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to do what good Offices he could. ‘When, in answer to the Addresses of both our Houses of Parliament, His Majesty was pleased to say, that he would *do every thing that is in his power for the satisfaction of his People*, we thought ourselves safe from this danger, which was the only subject of those Addresses; because we know it is

¹ *Correspondence*, ed. Elrington Ball, vol. iii, p. 191.

easily in His Majesties power to keep us free from this great evil, if he only pleases to give no direction to the Officers of his Revenue here to take that Copper coin. But the newspapers of the 11th from London give us to understand that this matter is still under consideration, and that a Committee of Council had lately sat upon it; wch has renew'd the Fears of the whole Kingdom.

'I beg your Grace to consider the state of our Case, which the enclosed paper¹ has fairly, and I think modestly represented; and that your Grace, out of your wonted charity to the distressed, would endeavour to do us what good offices you can, is the request of etc.'²

At the same time Archbishop Synge, Lord Abercorn, and some others made a representation to the Irish Privy Council 'that it was a duty incumbent on the Councill board in the intervalls of Parliament, to represent to his Majesty everything that nearly concern'd his revenue or the prosperity of the Kingdome, and they tooke notice of all that had been contain'd in the addresses of the two houses, and the prejudice the revenue wou'd suffer by the currency of these halfpence and that the nation wou'd be ruin'd and then took notice of the prints and how much the fears of the people were augmented and pray'd some remedy in this sinking state of Ireland...'³ In spite of the opposition of Sir Richard Levinge (Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas), the Lord Chancellor and the rest agreed, and the Archbishop of Tuam was ordered to prepare a representation upon the debate of the Committee. On May 6 the Committee of the Council met again, and after much debate decided to

¹ This was a copy of *The True State of the Case etc.*, see below, p. 355.

² *Wake MSS.*, CCXLVII, Letter from Archbp. Synge dated April 25, 1724.

³ Southwell Papers, B.M. *Add. MSS.* 9713, Letter from Sir R. Levinge to Hon. Ed. Southwell dated April 30, 1724.

recommend that the Privy Council should present an Address to the King, containing the same specific recommendations as had already been made by the Commons, viz. 'that your Majesty should cause your royal pleasure to be signified to the Commissioners, and other officers of your Majesty's revenue in this kingdom, that they neither receive those half-pence and farthings, nor give countenance or encouragement to the uttering or vending of them'.¹

The Address was drawn up on May 20 and sent from the Lords Justices and Privy Council to Carteret, together with Petitions from the Grand Juries of the County and of the City of Dublin, and they were acknowledged by him on May 30. Monck Mason has a curious note, which has been repeated by later editors,² that the particulars of this Address were never promulgated, and that although 'it was rumoured in Swift's time, it was not actually known to him'. But Swift definitely refers to this Address of the Privy Council at least five times in the *Drapier's Letters*; and it is also particularly mentioned in the opening sentence of the official Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, so that Swift could have had no doubt of its existence.³

While this was going on in Ireland, Wood had not been inactive and had replied to the charges of coining debased money by asking for an official assay to be taken of his coinage. This was accordingly ordered to be done at his Majesty's Mint in the Tower, and a Report⁴ was issued on April 27, 1724, on the amount and quality of the coinage issued by Wood from Lady

¹ See Monck Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 340; and cf. also p. 209, below, for the much modified text actually sent.

² *Prose Works*, vol. vi, p. 237.

³ But see Letter VI, p. 131, where Swift—perhaps ironically—confesses that he may have been mistaken. See also p. 213.

⁴ S.P. 63, vol. 384, reprinted below, p. 205.

Day 1723 to March 28, 1724, which declared it to be 'very good copper, and taken one piece with another full weight, yet the single pieces not so equally coined in the weight as they should have been'. Having thus dealt with the charge that his coinage was not up to the standard required by the Patent, Wood next attempted to overcome the objections that the amount authorized was far too large, by himself making proposals which, at least for the time, would reduce it very considerably. He suggested that if he 'could have free Currency in Ireland without any Obstruction from the Government there' for the £17,000 worth of copper he had already coined, 'and if he may be allowed to make up that £17,000 to £40,000 (for which sum he had already Copper by him) he will Coyn no more of the said money, unless it shall hereafter be found necessary for that Kingdom'. This proposal was accepted and embodied in the Report of the Committee of the English Privy Council, dated at the Council Chamber at Whitehall the 24th day of July, 1724, which had been drawn up in accordance with an 'Order referring to the Committee the several papers relating to Mr. Wood's Patent for Coyning Farthings and halfpence for Ireland' at a meeting of the King's most Excellent Majesty in Council at the Court at Kensington, the 4th day of July, 1724.¹ The Report of the Committee was approved on August 6, and the Commissioners of the Treasury ordered to give proper Directions to limit the amount of Wood's Copper Coinage to £40,000. At the same time the officers of the Revenue in Ireland were definitely ordered 'to revoke any Directions they may have given to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering this Copper money'. Further, a copy of Wood's Proposals were to be sent to the Lord-Lieutenant or Lords Justices 'that they may consider whether

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 384.

anything can be done for the further satisfaction of the People of Ireland'.

Connolly, the only one of the Lords Justices at the time who was wholly loyal to the English interest, replied immediately to the Duke of Newcastle on August 15, resenting the suggestion that the Commissioners of the Revenue had ever given such directions or intimations publicly or privately; but he is obliged to confess a few days later that when the Lords Justices called a Council to consider His Majesty's commands, and take suitable action, they broke up without doing anything in the matter. Newcastle's reply to these two letters is significant in showing that the English ministry already fully recognized that this trivial affair of Wood's halfpence had provoked an opposition in Ireland which might lead to serious political consequences. 'You may believe', he says, 'that this affair is not considered now as what affects the personal interest of the King or his Ministers much less is any regard had in it to Mr. Wood; but it is plainly a national Concern, it is a Renewal of Attempts, ill-founded in themselves, very ill-timed (for I am sure it shows no skill to chuse to attack a Government & a Nation in full Prosperity & vigour) attempts that every man in England of however different principles in other things will unite to oppose, and which should they succeed must end in the Ruin of Ireland.'¹

The first news of the official proceedings reached Ireland at the beginning of August. On the first day of the month Harding's *Dublin News Letter* contained under 'London Prints and Manuscripts, dated July 25', a notice of the meeting of the Council at the Cockpit and the report of Newton's Assay with this comment: 'if we once suffer this same Wood's Half-pence and Farthings to pass among us, the Consequences will be the utter

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 384.

Ruin and Destruction of this Country, which is fully prov'd in a Pamphlet lately publish'd, Entitul'd *A Letter to the Shopkeepers etc.* Rate—Two English Shillings Three Dozen.'

On August 4 the same newspaper contains this advertisement: 'On Thursday next will be publish'd: *A Letter to Mr. Harding the Printer, upon Occasion of a Paragraph in the News-Paper of Aug. 1st relating to Mr. Wood's Half-Pence. By M. B. Drapier, Author of the Letter to the Shopkeepers etc.*' The Drapier's *Second Letter* was designed as a warning against Wood's fresh proposals, which, supported by Newton's favourable report of his assay, were calculated to remove some of the chief objections which had been raised. Swift uses each point as a means of pouring fresh contempt upon Wood, and exposing him as a villain not to be trusted; he again insists upon the legal right of the people of Ireland to refuse to accept his coinage, and finally proposes a boycott of all tradesmen who should be found to have accepted it.

Another letter to Harding followed, which appeared as a broadside, and was signed 'Misoxulos'.¹ It was evidently inspired by Swift, and was probably written by his friend Thomas Sheridan, or another of their circle. Soon afterwards the whole Report was printed, and a large portion of it appeared in the *Dublin Intelligence* for August 19. No comment was made in the newspaper, but one phrase from the Report was quoted in large block capitals: BE WILLING TO RECEIVE THE SAME.

On August 20 the Grand Jury and the rest of the inhabitants of the Liberty of St. Patrick's attended the Dean with a Declaration against the coinage, which they read to him and desired him to have published.

On August 25 Harding's *Dublin News Letter* contained the following advertisement: 'Tomorrow will

¹ Reprinted below, pp. 247-8.

DUBLIN Aug. 30th: 1794.

THIS Day the GRAND-JURY and the rest of the Inhabitants of the Liberty of the DEAN and CHAPTER of St. PATRICK's, DUBLIN, attended the DEAN of St. Patrick's with the following DECLARATION, which they Read to HIM, and Desir'd that HE would give ORDERS to have it Publish'd.

T H E
D E C L A R A T I O N
O F T H E
G R A N D J U R Y,
A N D
The Rest of the Inhabitants of
the Liberty of the DEAN and Chapter of St. Patrick's, DUBLIN.

WE the Grand-Jury and other Inhabitants of the Liberty of the DEAN and CHAPTER of St. PATRICK's, DUBLIN, whose Names are Under-written, do Unanimously Declare and Determine, that we never will Receive or Pay any of the HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGs already Coyned, or that shall hereafter be Coyned by One WILLIAM WOOD, being not obliged by LAW to receive the same; Because we are thoroughly Convinced by the ADDRESSES of BOTH HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, as well as by that of His MAJESTY's most Honourable PRIVY-COUNCIL, and by the Universal Opinion of the WHOLE Kingdom, that the Currency of the said HALF-PENCE and FARTHINGs would soon Deprive us of all our GOLD and SILVER; and therefore be of the most Destructive Consequence to the Trade and Welfare of this Nation.

GRAND-JURY.

John Martin, *Foreman.*
Abraham Bayley
John Warden,
Alex. Willis
Rob. Kimintoun
Hen. Scalls
Tho. Cusick
Edw. Bryan
John Smalley
John Mincher
Rob. Brady
James Hays
John Burbridge
Christ. Bleades
John Hutchison

Other Inhabitants.

James Jackson
Francis Hyman
William Phillips

John Pigott
Rob. Corris
John Jeffries
Nicholas Hoy
Christ. Bryan
John Exhee
Sam. Farratt
Simon Bellers
Luke Plumly
Henry Houghton
John Lodemen
George Thacker
James Smleh
Edw. Farrell
Edw. Skelden
Thomas Allen
Francis Clarke
John Hannigia
Patrick Kenny
Moises Tabb
John Magrath
William Bambery
Rob. Decy

William Harding
Michael Barry
John Allam
John Plumley
Sam. Parks
Richard Nelson
Rob. Baxter
Edm. Dempsy
Rob. Goodman
John Jackson
John Leicester,
John Goodman
Rob. Shaw
John Anyon
John Smekney
William Auyan
George Maion
Darby Kavanagh
Thomas Wallband
William Hayes
James Forville

F I N I S:

be published A Letter from a Lady of Quality to Mr. Harding the Printer, occasionally written on the *General Outcry against Wood's Half-pence* etc.' This has sometimes been attributed to Swift, but it would seem to be an imitation of his *Second Letter*, and quite possibly the work of one of his 'under spur-leathers'. The Drapier's *Third Letter, Inscrib'd to the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom of Ireland*, is dated August 25, and was announced by Harding on August 29. Here, though pretending to be doubtful about the genuineness of the Report, and hampered a little by writing in the character of a simple and unlettered tradesman, Swift exerts himself to the utmost in exposing the weakness of every argument which had been advanced in support of the Patent. There is no doubt that the Report had been produced under the careful supervision of Walpole, and here Swift meets his real antagonist. Though he still belabours Mr. Wood, that figure of Brass, we may well detect beneath that last magnificently used reference to the duel between David and Goliath, not merely the persons of the Drapier and the mechanic Wood, but the persons of Swift and Walpole. For these were Goliath's conditions of combat: *If he prevail against us, then shall we be his Servants*. 'But', observes Swift, 'if it happen that I *prevail* over him, I renounce the other Part of the Condition, he shall never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not think him fit to be trusted in any *honest Man's Shop*.'¹

At the end of August and during the following month, September 1724, a flood of Petitions and Declarations appeared from all sides against Wood's Coin: a Petition from the city of Dublin, dated September 8, was printed in the *Dublin Gazette* and *Dublin Intelligence* for September 19, accompanied by others from the towns of Drogheda, Wexford, Galway, Athenree, Youghall,

¹ See below, p. 63.

Londonderry, Enniscorthy. Broad­sides were printed with declarations from the Corporations of Butchers, Brewers, Flying Stationers, and Beggars. Declarations also were made by individual tradesmen, who had been accused of contracting with Wood to utter his coin.¹ Popular demonstrations took place of the kind reported in the *Dublin Intelligence*, September 8:

'Yesterday a very scald Portraiture or Image of Sir *Will Wood* was born in 'Triumph thro' this City, by a vast Crowd of the *Mobility*, who with many Exclamations curs'd, bann'd, and condemn'd him to the Gallows, where 'tis thought his Honour would have been *pendent*, had not My Lord Mayor come in seasonably with a Reprieve.' And such incidents in their turn gave rise to humorous papers varying from *An Account of WOOD'S Execution*, which is included by Faulkner among Swift's Works (1735),² to the most trivial gleanings which Swift left to the ballad-makers.

On September 30, there was a rumour that the Patent had been withdrawn on the advice of Walpole,³ but ten days later a report of a very different kind appeared in the *Dublin Intelligence*:

'Tis publickly Talk'd in this City, That there is a Ship come into this Harbour: which has brought over 50 Ton of Wood's Brass Halfpence and she is to lie at Bullock till his Grace the Lord Lieutenant comes over, who they say, must do his Endeavour to pass them; but these 'tis believ'd, are only flying Reports.

'We have an account also, That a certain Noble Man of England, My L—— W——e, who was the Chief in gaining Wood his Patent, hearing of the joint Declarations of the People of Ireland against the Brass Coin, has sworn that since he gain'd the Patent, if the

¹ For facsimiles of these declarations see pp. xxxviii–xl.

² Vol. iv, pp. 243–9, reprinted below, pp. 173–180.

³ *Needham's Postman*, No. 30 (Gilbert).

Advertisement.

WHEREAS several Persons in this Kingdom suspect that *John Molyneux* of *Meath-street*, Iron-Monger, and his Brother *Daniel Molyneux* of *Essex-street* Iron-Monger, are Interested in the Patent obtained by *William Wood* for Coyning of Halfpence and Farthings for this Kingdom.

NOW We the said *John Molyneux* and *Daniel Molyneux*, in Order to satisfy the Publick, Do hereby Declare, that we are no Way concern'd with the said *Wood* in relation to his said Patent; And that we never were possess'd of any of the said Halfpence or Farthings, except one Halfpenny and one Farthing, which I the said *John Molyneux* receiv'd in a Post-Letter, and which I immediately afterwards deliver'd to one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*. W f

And We do further Declare, that We will not directly or indirectly, be any Ways concerned with the said *Wood's* Half-pence or Farthings; but on the contrary, act to the great Advantage and Satisfaction of this Kingdom, as good loving and faithful Subjects ought to do. And We do further declare, that to the best of our Knowledge, the said *William Wood* is not in this Kingdom.

Given under our Hands in *Dublin* this 22d Day of *August* 1724.

John Molyneux
Dan. Molyneux

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

WHEREAS I *THOMAS HANDY* of *Meath-street*, *Dublin*, did Receive by the last Packet from a Person in *London*, to whom I am an Entire Stranger, Bills of Lading for Eleven Casks of *Wood's* Half-Pence, Ship'd at *Bristol*, and Consign'd to me by the said Person on his own proper Account; Of which I had not the least Notice until I Receiv'd the said Bills of Lading.

NOW I the said *THOMAS HANDY*, being highly sensible of the Duty and Regard which every honest Man owes to his Country and to his Fellow-Subjects, do hereby Declare, That I will not be Concern'd Directly or Indirectly in Entering, Landing, Importing, Receiving, or Uttering any of the said *Wood's* Half-Pence, For that I am fully Convinc'd as well from the Addresses of Both Houses of Parliament, as otherwise, That the Importing and Uttering the said Half-Pence, will be Destructive to this Nation, and Prejudicial to His Majesty's Revenue.

AND of this my Resolution, I gave Notice by Letter, to the Person who sent me the Bills of Lading, the very day I Receiv'd them, and have sent back the said Bills to him.

Dublin, 29th. *August*, 1724.

THO. HANDY.

The Declaration of the Corporation of the *BUTCHERS*.



E the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of *BUTCHERS*, do hereby declare, that we will not directly or indirectly receive or utter in any Payment whatever, any of the *Half-Pence* or *Farthings* coined by *William Wood*, being as we conceive under no Obligation by Law so to do. And we are fully satisfied in our Conscience, that the uttering of the said *Wood's* Coin, will be prejudicial to his Majesties Revenue, and the utter Ruin of this his Majesties Kingdom of *Ireland*, it not being Value; And we further declare, that we are for the Welfare of his Sacred Majesty, the Encouragement of Trade, and the Peace and Quietness of this Kingdom in general.

Tho. Todd, Master
Abf. Kettell
Ed. Grant } Wardens
J. Potter }
Tho. Mills
Ja. Nowlan
Peter Horton
John Fame
Morris Carr
John Willson
George Ward
Rich. Kellsey
Tho. Wharton
John Clench
Geo. Goinfox
Will. Muckillroy
Pet. Leacock

Mic. Lyster
Jn. Archbold
Jn. Wilde
Jn. Buley
Jn. Querin
Jn. Burne
Geo Fletcher
Tho. Harris
Jn. Ellis
Jn. Cullin
Wm. Barrett
Mic. Poacksley
Anth. Parnes
Jn. Clarke
Jo. Lindly
J. P.

&c. &c.

The Flying-Stationers DECLARATION.

WE the Flying Stationers of the City of Dublin, (commonly call'd News-Boys) bearing the of the Vile Practices of William Wood's Design of Ruining this Kingdom. Do hereby give Notice to all Gentlemen, Ladies, and others, who shall have Occasion to Buy News, Poems, Songs, Letters Lampoons, &c. That we will not Receive or Offer in Change any of William Woods Droffy Half Pence or Farthings, because we can neither get News, Ale, Brandy, Tobacco nor Snuff for such cursed Stuff.

Patrick Faenan
James Ward
John Clifford
Thomas Phoenix
Patrick Braddy
Patrick Tracy
John Riley
P. Neale
Patrick Bryan
Arthur Matthews
Charles Carty
Frank Matthews
Bryan Kelly
John Matthews
James Newland
Lawrence Coffey
John Sheel
Patt. Downan
Thomas Beverham
James Neale
Patrick Farrell
Dennis Hart
John Comer
John Hawking
Lawrence Downan
Dennis Ryan

Michael Downey
Stephen Jones
Pat. Commons
Thomas Kerran
Frank Madin
James Harris
Thomas Fitzsimon
Edward Bryan
Philip Braddy
Phel. McKating
Richard McGennis
Thomas Marquis
Wil. Johnston
Pat. Kelly
John Cunningham
Charles Gallagher
Thomas Frow
Philip Lyle
Martin Wells
Walter Seales
John Hyde
Philip Fitzsimon
Philip Matthews
Thos. Adams
Tim. Kelly
William Field

The BREWERS DECLARATION,

WE the several Brewers of the City of Dublin, being informed that several designing Persons, for the enriching of themselves, have purchased great Quantities of William Woods's Brass Half-pence and Farthings at a cheap Rate, in order to Utter them here, Do hereby give Notice to our several Customers, that we neither will Receive or Pay, any of the said Woods's Half-pence or Farthings, being, as we conceive, under no Obligation so to do, the same being highly prejudicial to the Trade and Revenue of this Kingdom.

John Taylor, Master	Edw. Pilkinton
Peter Picard	Jonat. Gerrad
Rich. Sanders	Dom. Ryan
Jos. Leeson	Jer. Lynch
Jos. Crowther	Robert Cascy
Fra. Bonham	Joshua Sheppey
Edmond Shiell	Sir Sam. Cooke
Abraham Spence	John Gorman
Evan Bevan	Edm. Tobin
John Bulkley	Ambr. Ferrall
Francis Grosvener	R. Matthews
Christopher Browne	Tho. Bignall
John Reed	Steph. Page
Matt. Browne	Roger Ferrall

People of Ireland still persisted in their Refusal of the Brass Coin, He would make them swallow it in Fireballs!'¹

Such was the excited state of public opinion when Carteret, the new Lord-Lieutenant, reached Dublin on October 22, charged with the duty of calming the people, and at the same time, if at all possible, of arranging for the introduction of at least a limited amount of Wood's copper money. On the very day of his arrival Swift's most famous letter, the fourth appeal of the Drapier, this time addressed to the Whole People of Ireland, was being hawked about even within the very walls of the Castle.

Carteret must have been aware of the difficulties of his situation, knowing the circumstances under which the Patent had been granted, and at the same time having received letters from Swift and others putting forward the objections of the Irish people. He had indeed almost hinted to Swift on June 20² that he could not think well of a Patent that had caused such general aversion in Ireland, but he had been very careful to give no indication of his official attitude in the matter. He must have detected a note of challenge in Swift's letter of September 3:³ 'My Lord we are here preparing for your reception, and for a quiet session under your government; but whether you approve the manner I can only guess. It is by universal declarations against Wood's coin.' Probably he had been informed of the continued activities of the Drapier, and when the *Letter to the Whole People of Ireland* greeted his arrival, he could not have been ignorant that this was Swift, once more 'interfering in matters out of his province, and giving him a little trouble, in hopes to save the

¹ A copy of this *Dublin Intelligence* also in the P.R.O., S.P. 63, vol. 385.

² *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 195.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

country from utter destruction'.¹ It was an embarrassing letter, both in its compliments to himself, and in its satirical references to the usual methods employed by his predecessors 'in corrupt times' 'to carry Points of Terrible Consequence to (the) Kingdom, by their Power with *those who were in Office*, and by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths, Affability*, or even with *Dinners*'.² But it was also a dangerous letter; while still ostensibly concerned with Wood's Coin, it was calculated to arouse bitter feelings in Ireland against the English government, and to encourage the dangerous notion of independency. And this gave Carteret an opportunity of using it as a means of immediately testing the quality of the resistance he had to meet, and of discovering who could be relied upon to give him support. He called a meeting of the Privy Council for October 27, and expressed very freely his own view that the agitation against the Patent was being artfully fomented by a group of persons who traitorously wished to persuade the people to shake off their allegiance to the King and their dependency upon England. He then proposed that the printer of the Drapier's *Fourth Letter* should be prosecuted by due course of law, and that a Proclamation should be issued, offering a Reward to such as would discover the author of it.

This was not accepted without a great deal of discussion. Many of the members of the Privy Council had themselves signed a Declaration³ against Wood's Coin, and they insisted that 'something might be inserted in the Proclamation, to satisfy the people that the Author was not prosecuted for what he writ against the Halfpence'. It was therefore finally decided that the Proclamation should be directed, not against the Letter

¹ *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 193.

² See below, p. 76.

³ S.P. 63, vol. 384, reprinted below, pp. 209-11.

as a whole, but against 'several seditious and scandalous paragraphs' of it. Even so, several members of the Council refused to sign it, and the Archbishop of Dublin openly expressed his disapproval of it and his anxiety as to the consequences.

Swift was evidently kept informed of all that was happening at the Castle and at the meetings of the Privy Council. I do not think there can be any doubt that he was in touch with some of the other leaders of what may be called the Anti-Wood party in Dublin, though he had been ill and had hardly left the Deanery during the summer. It will be remembered that on April 2 he spoke of meeting the Lord Chancellor and the Archbishop of Dublin and rallying them on their pusillanimity, and soon afterwards he called on the Chancellor again to discuss the subject further. He himself says that he had received assistance both in the writing and the distribution of the first letter; and evidently the other letters were also submitted to 'several very able persons' whose advice Harding sought at Swift's suggestion before they were published.¹ All the events that followed the Proclamation forced Swift into the very centre of the action, though officially he remained successfully hidden. On October 24, Swift had written to Tickell, Carteret's secretary, apologizing for being unable to call at the Castle:

'I did not design to attend my Lord Lieutenant, till his hurry of visits and ceremony were over; but I fear it will be long before I can have that honour, for I am so cruelly persecuted with the return of my deafness, that I am fit for nothing but to mope in my chamber. I therefore humbly entreat your favour, to present my most humble duty to his Excellency, and to let him know the unlucky cause that hinders me from waiting on him, which I apprehend will yet continue some

¹ See below, p. 99.

weeks.¹ Evidently the only reply to this letter was an official acknowledgement, as Swift refers two or three times in his letters of November and December to the fact that he had not yet met the Lord-Lieutenant since he had come over, and had only received from him 'one cold compliment'. Sheridan's dramatic story of the meeting between Swift and Carteret soon after the Proclamation was issued² must belong not to the end of October 1724, but to the middle of the following January, when they met for the first time.³

Without this meeting the situation was dramatic enough, and Tickell was fully aware of the excellent comedy it provided. In a letter to Delafaye, the Secretary of the Lords Justices in England, dated November 1, he gives us a welcome glimpse of the reality underlying the veil of official phrases:

'I have often thought that if the persons employed under great Ministers had regularly sent one another all the merry accounts that occurred upon those matters of state, about which their principals corresponded with much gravity, a Collection of their Letters would have been the more curious of the two. With all deference to Mr. Buckley I speak it, a volume of Daily Posts written in the days of Augustus, would at this day outsell as many Roman Gazettes published by authority. I shall know by your conduct, whether you are of my opinion, and without further preface thus enter upon my part of the work.

'My Lord Lieutenant harangued the Council so effectually upon the subject of Swift's Pamphlet, that every member present, except the Abp. of Dublin, signed the Order for persecuting the Author and only the Abp., the Bp. of Elphin, Dr. Coghill, who by his

¹ *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 219.

² Sheridan, T., *Life of Swift* (1784), pp. 246-8.

³ See below, p. lviii.

posts is linked to the Clergy, and Lord Allen, declined to subscribe the proclamation. The printer is run away, the Hawkers dare not cry it, and the Author is now writing an Answer against himself. The Spirit of Sedition is certainly damped but by no means extinguished. The Declaration against the Half pence, which was signed by some Privy Councillors, and many men of figure, is now printed in a large sheet to be hung up in frames; great endeavours are using to get Dr. Swift the freedom of the City in a Gold-box, and a very dull but virulent paper of verses¹ is handed about, ending with this line,

And give Him Freedom, while yourselves are free
which it seems is to be understood of this Freedom of the City. The inclosed quotation out of Scripture has been got by rote, by men, women, and children, and, I do assure you, takes wonderfully. . . .'²

The quotation, perhaps suggested by George Rooke, a Quaker,³ was indeed apt: 'And the people said unto Saul, Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation in Israel? God forbid: as the Lord liveth, there shall not one hair of his head fall to the ground, for he hath wrought with God this day. So the people rescued Jonathan, that he died not.' (1 Sam. xiv. 45.)

What was this 'Answer against himself' that the Drapier was then writing? Tickell gives no further hint, but when we remember the private conversation between the Lord-Lieutenant and the Archbishop of Dublin described in the following letter from the former to the Duke of Newcastle, dated October 31, it becomes immediately clear that this Answer was the *Letter to Lord Chancellor Midleton*, dated October 26, 1724, but published for the first time as Letter VI in the fourth volume of Swift's *Works*, 1735.

¹ See below, p. 375.

² S.P. 63, vol. 384.

³ See below, p. 363, and cf. *Corr.* vol. iii, p. 220.

'I yesterday receiv'd a visit from the Archbishop of Dublin who after discoursing of the affairs of this Kingdom in a very extraordinary manner acquainted me that the person who wrote the Pamphlet mention'd in the order of Council and Proclamation which I transmitted to Your Grace in my letter of the 28th had some thoughts of owning and even declaring himself to be the author of it: The Archbishop added, that he believ'd in the present conjuncture the author might safely put himself upon his country, and stand his tryall, since it was generally understood that his crime was writing against the half pence. I told His Grace, if he wou'd know my opinion it was this: that no man in the Kingdom how great and considerable soever he might think himself was of weight enough to stand a matter of this nature: but if the author desir'd to have the glory of taking it upon himself, he wou'd do well to apply to the Cheif Justice of the King's bench. I told him further that the Libel contain'd such seditious and in my opinion treasonable matter as call'd upon a Cheif Governour here to exert his utmost power in bringing the author of it to justice.

'The event of this is uncertain; but I must acquaint Your Grace, and beg you will lay it before the King, that if the boldness of this author shou'd be so great as the Archbishop intimates, I am fully determin'd to summon him before the Council, and tho' I shou'd not be supported by them as I cou'd wish, yet I shall think it my duty to order his being taken into custody, and to detain him if I can by law, till His Majestyes pleasure shall be further signified to me, for if his offer of bail shou'd be immediately accepted and he forthwith set at liberty, after so daring an insult upon His Majestyes government, it is to be apprehended that riots and tumults will ensue; and that ill dispos'd persons will run after this author and represent him to be the defender of

their libertyes, which the people are falsely made to believe are attack'd in this affaire of the half pence.

'I consulted my Lord Cheif Baron Hale who thinks the case if it shou'd happen, so extraordinary, as to become a matter of State, and require the utmost vigour. My Lord Cheif Justice Whitshed who is likewise very zealous in this affaire says that the present ferment in which the people are shou'd be laid out of the case, and that the Government shou'd neither do more nor less upon that occasion, but act with regularity and firmness. He said this upon my intimating that I did not know but it might be necessary, if the author shou'd be so bold as to declare himself to detain him in custody under a guard till His Majestyes pleasure shou'd be known upon this affaire in which the peace of the Kingdom is so much concern'd.

'My Lord Shannon was the first person who acquainted me, that he had received intelligence that this matter was under the deliberation of severall considerable persons in this city; but neither he nor I cou'd give intire credit to it till I received this visit from the Archbishop. 'Tis the generall opinion here, that Doctor Swift is author of the pamphlet, and yet nobody thinks it can be prov'd upon him: tho' many believe he will be spirited up to own it. Your Grace by this may see what opinion the Archbishop of Dublin and Swift have of the humour of the people whose affections they have exceedingly gain'd of late by inveighing against the halfpence.'

Thus, at the very moment the Proclamation was issued—if the date October 26 is correct, Swift must have been warned beforehand by Lord Midleton, as only the Lords Justices and Judges had been consulted by Carteret before the meeting of the Privy Council on October 27—Swift was writing another

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 384.

letter in defence of the *Fourth Letter*, and this time addressing it from 'Deanry House' to the Lord Chancellor, and signing it with his own initials, J. S.¹

It may well be that before allowing him to publish this letter, Swift's friends had thought it advisable to try to sound Carteret and had sent the Archbishop to him with this report. Carteret's reply may have convinced the Archbishop that it would be more prudent not to challenge his authority at that moment. Later, in 1735, to show why it had not been published at the time, Swift wrote, or at least approved, the following explanation: 'I can tell no other reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard; that the writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people in power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the paper in his cabinet.'²

Probably some of the Dublin leaders would have liked the Drapier to stand his trial, being convinced that no Jury could be got to find the Bill against him; but if the case was to be considered so treasonable as to be treated as a matter of State it might be taken out of the ordinary courts, where alone the Drapier would be safe. There was no such danger, however, for the printer, Harding, who was taken on November 7 and as Carteret said 'was spirited up to stand the prosecution and persist in concealing the Author'.³ And his case would provide an excellent opportunity to challenge public authority openly in the courts, leaving Swift still free to continue his activities.

Accordingly on November 11, Swift wrote *Seasonable Advice*,⁴ a letter addressed primarily to those who

¹ See below, p. 142.

² *Works* (1735), vol. iv, p. 183; see also below, p. 121.

³ S.P. 63, vol. 385—Letter from Carteret to Newcastle, dated Nov. 8, 1724.

⁴ See below, p. 89.

should be chosen to sit on the Grand Jury, which 'was sent about in letters sealed up to most of the citizens & gentlemen in town' a few days later. It was not signed at all, and bore no printer's name. Most probably it was printed at Harding's press, but it is worth remembering that there is a persistent tradition in Dublin that a printing-press had been set up in the summer-house in Delany's garden, and that some of the Drapier's writings were printed there. It is a short paper containing six points, to be considered by the gentlemen of the Grand Jury, before whom the Bill against Harding is to come. The first three are simply a defence of the Drapier, the fourth refers to the influence which their finding the Bill might have upon the kingdom in weakening the resistance to Wood's halfpence, the fifth suggests quite frankly that only those who have employments under the Crown need fear the consequences of rejecting it, and the last reminds them of their responsibilities towards a poor man perfectly innocent—the printer. Actually, though both Harding and his wife were kept in prison for a time 'to their great expense as well as hardship', they were in no danger of any prosecution, as no evidence could be got against them, and their case was never brought before the Grand Jury.

It is strange that Faulkner's note about this incident should be inaccurate and misleading; the facts are perfectly clear and amply substantiated both in the official correspondence of Carteret, and in Coghill's even more detailed letters to Southwell. Faulkner says: 'The Evening before the Tryal, Copies of *Seasonable Advice* were conveyed to every Person of the Grand-Jury; who, moved by the Reasons contained in the said Paper, would not find the Bill; whereupon, the Chief Justice Whitshed dissolved the Jury in a Rage: After which, the following Extract was published, and

dispersed about the Town, to shew the Illegality of the said Whitshed's Proceeding.'¹

But Carteret says very definitely: 'a copy of *Seasonable Advice* was brought to me on Nov: 14th of so scandalous and seditious a nature, that I thought it my duty to send it to the Attorney and Solicitour General, and direct them to complain of it in the Court of King's Bench, that the Grand Jury might have an opportunity of making a presentment of so insolent a Libel. I persuaded myself that the Grand Jury would have so much regard to their Oaths, and the interest of their Country, as not to let it pass over without expressing their detestation of the Reflections therein cast upon His Majesty, and His Government. The Attorney and Solicitour General promised to exert themselves as much as possible in a matter of this consequence. Yesterday (i.e. Nov. 21st) the motion was made in Court, but notwithstanding the proper way in which the nature and import of the said Paper was opened to them by the Attorney and Solicitour General, and the concurrent and zealous Exhortation of the Three Judges of the King's Bench, the Grand Jury would not make the presentment. My Lord Chief Justice endeavoured to convince them of the ill consequences that might befall the Kingdom from so extraordinary a behaviour in persons upon their oath—supposed to speak the sense of their Country; and after having reminded them of their Duty in the strongest manner (as I am convinced he did by the Minutes of his Speeches, which he has since shewed me) sent them back to consider further of it. This had some effect, but those, who were influenced by what he said, being but Eleven out of Twenty-three, the presentment could not be made. I cannot sufficiently commend the zeal, prudence, and integrity of my Lord Chief Justice upon all occasions,

¹ *Works* (1735), vol. iv, p. 158.

and in nothing more than that he has thought proper to discharge the Grand Jury, and to order a New one. There being as I am informed by the Attorney General but One precedent in this Country of such a Discharge, some people pretend to find fault with my Lord Chief Justice, but he is a person of too much courage and sense to regard what they say. I should acquaint Your Grace that when the Grand Jury refused to present this Paper, the Judges expostulated with them man by man, and requested the reasons that could induce them to stand out against the opinion of the Court: to which examination one of them answered, that the Presentment of that Paper would in his opinion tend to introduce the Halfpence, and therefore he was against it.

'This, My Lord, is but too convincing a proof that Sedition is instilled into the minds of the people, under a notion of opposing the currency of Wood's money; which though very much lamented by some, has nevertheless received such encouragement from others, that it is very much to be feared, even Treason might not be found so by a Jury here, if it was colour'd over with the popular invectives against Wood's Half-pence.'¹

This letter alone is sufficient to show that the Grand Jury were dissolved on November 21—exactly a week after the appearance of *Seasonable Advice*—not because they refused to find the Bill against Harding, but because they refused to make a presentment of this last seditious paper, which Swift had addressed to the Jury. Further details are provided² by Dr. Coghill, himself a Judge of the Prerogative Court, who was evidently present in the King's Bench during the proceedings. He explains in a letter to Edward Southwell that failing to get a presentment of the whole paper, Whitshed had tried to persuade the Jury at least to

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 385—Letter to Newcastle, Nov. 22, 1724.

² B.M. Add. MSS. 21122—Letter dated Nov. 24, 1724.

single out as false and malicious the fifth paragraph, which so grossly reflected on persons in so high stations under his Majesty.

Indeed, one sentence of that paragraph was directed very obviously against himself, as the author of *A Second Letter from a Friend To the Right Honourable* — afterwards pointed out very effectively.¹ 'Whereas, those who go about to *advise, entice, or threaten* them to find that Bill, have great Employments; which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*; as it was likewise the Case of all those who signed the Proclamation, to have the Author prosecuted.'

A few of the Jury admitted that 'they thought the fifth paragraph liable to censure, and that they were willing to present that, but that their brethren would not come into it, my Ld. C. Justice order'd them to returne and consider of it again but the foreman told him, it was to no purpose, for they would not alter their opinion, whereupon my Ld. C. Justice expostulated the matter with them (with great warmth) & discharged the Jury, & ordered the Sherriffs to summon another, which was accordingly done, & the enclosed paper was published yesterday morning before the Court satt, . . .'

The enclosed paper was of course *An Extract etc.*² giving, without any comment, a quotation from the *Resolutions of the House of Commons in England, November 13, 1680*, declaring the discharging of a grand jury by any judge, before the end of the term, assizes, or sessions, while matters are under their consideration, and not presented, to be 'arbitrary, illegal, destructive to public justice, a manifest violation of his oath, and a means to subvert the fundamental laws of this Kingdom'. There is no doubt³ that Swift was responsible for the printing of this paper, even though Lindsay or some

¹ See below, p. 282. ² See below, p. 93. ³ See below, p. lxxiv.

other lawyer may have supplied the material. It was well calculated to increase the ferment and apprehensions of the city, who were thereby encouraged to regard the dismissal of the Grand Jury as an act of illegal violence to introduce Wood's halfpence. Carteret reports in his letter of November 24 that 'it had such an effect, that My Lord Chief Justice, who was before extremely popular, and very justly so from his unexceptionable conduct upon the Bench, is now cried out against as a Favourer of the Halfpence, and censured by some for having exerted himself, as they pretend to think, more than was necessary upon this occasion. . . .'

'Yesterday' (Nov. 23), he continues, 'the New Grand Jury was returned, Fourteen of whom are reputed Jacobites, by which the disposition of the Sheriffs is but too plainly discovered. My Lord Chief Justice in his Charge to them, enlarged so much upon the absurdity of the notion of Independency, that some impertinent people, who stood by, were heard to say by way of criticising upon this conduct, *He need not have gone out of his way to discourse upon that subject.* But finding no probability of inducing the Jury to make a presentment of the Libel (when, as I observed to Your Grace in my last, even crimes of a higher nature might goe unpunished by Such a Jury) He did not think it proper to attempt it at that time. For had they refused, he must have dismissed them, which would only irritate the people worse, without being attended with any good effect, and the Term ending this Week, when they are Discharged of course, he will on Saturday have an opportunity of laying the matter before them, and see what can be done.'¹

In these circumstances it was felt to be expedient not to bring before this Jury the cases against

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 385.

other seditious libels¹ (and among them the case against Harding), though several indictments were already drawn.

The city continued in a state of uproar, and it is probable that at this moment Swift delighted it further with his verse-squibs against Whitshed.² But there was one thing more important to do before setting out into the country on the following Saturday afternoon, a final stroke which must have given him a good deal of satisfaction. On that day—the last day of the Term—the Court was to meet again, and the Grand Jury would be given a final opportunity of making a presentment. Swift had already suggested at the end of his third letter, that if the dread of Wood's halfpence should continue till next quarter-sessions, the gentlemen of every county would then have a fair opportunity of declaring against Wood with unanimity and zeal. Now there had come the perfect opportunity of proving the unanimity and zeal of the gentlemen of Ireland. When they met therefore, instead of making a presentment against the libels of Wood's opponent, the Drapier, the Grand Jury of the County of Dublin determined to go even farther than the other Grand Juries, who had already declared against the halfpence, and make a presentment 'of all such persons as have attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud or otherwise, to impose the said halfpence upon us'.

I do not think there can be much doubt that Swift himself was directly responsible for the actual presentment which was made.³ There is a hint of confidence

¹ *The London Evening Post* (Number 2381), Oct. 27-9, 1724, reports from Dublin, Oct. 27, that several Printers were taken up and committed to Newgate by the Lord Mayor for printing seditious pamphlets.

² See p. 376.

³ Sheridan, T., *Life of Swift* (1784), p. 237—'strong presentment, drawn up by Swift, at the request of some of the Jury'.

that the situation was in his own hands in a remark which occurs in a letter written on Friday, November 27: 'The Grand Jury has been dissolved for refusing to present a Paper against Wood; a Second was called who are more stubborn. The Government and Judges are all at their Witts end.'¹ The completeness of Swift's triumph is clear from Carteret's official report of the proceedings when the Court met again: 'On Saturday last the Term ended, and the Grand Jury made a Presentment, a Copy whereof was delivered to me by My Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, who thinks it of so extraordinary a nature, that it may serve to give Your Grace a truer notion of the madness of the People, than any account I can possibly transmit to you. When the Grand Jury was told by the Court, that they had now an opportunity of doing their Country the justice the former Grand Jury refused to do, one of them answered, after consulting with the rest, that they had spent Two days in drawing up that paper, and were now of opinion, that nothing could be added to it. But there is great reason to believe the Paper came from a hand that has been employed before now with too much success in disturbing the peace of this Kingdom. The presentment is just Printed and herein inclosed.

'One la Touche a Banker, who was of the former Grand-Jury, and one of those who were for making a presentment of the Paper intituled *Seasonable Advice*, had two days afterwards so violent a Run upon him, from all parts, that it was feared he would be obliged to stop payment. . . .'²

These reports produced at last from the Duke of Newcastle³ a request that the Lord-Lieutenant should offer definite advice what could possibly be done for the

¹ *Letters to Ford*, p. 113.

² S.P. 63, vol. 385—Letter to Newcastle, dated Dec. 1, 1724.

³ *Ibid.*—Letter to Carteret, Dec. 3, 1724.

satisfaction of the people of Ireland, consistent with the laws of the land, accompanied by a warning that 'His Majesty hopes that no provocation of any kind will induce any of his Officers or Servants to go beyond the strict Rules and Forms of Law'. But although Carteret did not hesitate to take the opportunity of recommending¹ that an end should be put to the business of the halfpence, adding that compensation could be given to Wood so long as his name did not appear, the Government were not yet prepared for such a surrender, and replied on December 29, that His Majesty was surprised at such a proposal, and had nothing further to add, except to repeat that it was never his intention to force a currency of that coin.

After November there was much less excitement; all the possible declarations had already been signed, and the newspapers were no longer full of rumours and reports about Wood. Carteret was also engaged with other business, and succeeded in turning the attention of the public to fresh scandals. The Bishop of Derry, writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury on January 1, refers² to the strict inquiry into the management of the treasury and army. 'This Executive Justice is a fresh Amusement, which takes wonderfully with the Populace, and has quite turn'd our Satyrs against the Farthing-monger and his Abettors, into Panegyricks on our Delivery from real Oppression.' He admits, however, that seditious libels are still appearing, which no Irishman could ever be brought to say were dangerous.

Swift was nevertheless watching lest the strength of the general opposition should gradually diminish, and when there seemed to be still no sign that the Patent would be officially surrendered, he determined once more to justify what the Drapier had done, and to insist

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 385—Letter to Newcastle, Dec. 16, 1724.

² *Wake MSS.*, CCXLVII.

on the continued necessity to refuse the coin, though he confesses¹ that he is weary of his office as a writer, and would prefer to leave it to the makers of ballads and songs to gather up the gleanings of the controversy. This *Fifth Letter* from the Drapier was addressed to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth, a well-known Whig Peer who was living in retirement and had taken no active part in the controversy. It was therefore written in a quieter manner, and was at the same time a defence of the earlier *Letters*, and a further emphatic though most cautiously phrased protest against Wood. To this was prefixed a short letter to the Printer, half apology and half justification.

It is in some ways the best written of all the *Letters*. The role of Drapier had never hampered Swift unduly, but before this he had wrapped his disguise closely about him. Now he allows himself more ease, and obviously takes delight in his own superb acting. He promises that if ever he should write again on this subject, it will be 'as innocent and as insipid' as this, and 'without a sting'. But it is always under this appearance of innocence that Swift's irony is most penetrating. 'As to myself, it hath been my Misfortune to begin and pursue (this controversy) upon a wrong Foundation. For having detected the Frauds and Falshoods of this Vile Impostor *Wood* in every Part, I foolishly *disdained* to have Recourse to *Whining, Lamenting, and Crying for Mercy*, but rather chose to *appeal* to *Law and Liberty*, and the *common Rights of Mankind*, without considering the *Climate* I was in.'² For 'I will venture to say, that the boldest and most obnoxious Words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only exposed me as a stupid Fool, who went to prove that *the Sun shone in a clear Summer's Day*; . . .'³

¹ See below, p. 116.

² Ibid.

³ See below, p. 108.

This letter was published¹ on December 31, 1724, at the very time when, although no hint was given to the public, Carteret's proposal that the Patent should be surrendered was receiving support on all sides from those who were known to be devoted to the English interest. There is a letter² with no superscription among the official correspondence from Isaac Manley, dated January 9, referring to 'the excellent behaviour of Carteret, yet they say *All he does is with designe to introduce the ½ pence,—but that shall not do; neither eating & drinking, civility, nor good words shall alter their minds as to that.* What 5 or 6 months more time may bring about, I know not, but I do fear nothing will overcome this matter, and I can't help wishing that the Patent were by some means or other at an end'. And on the same day Carteret himself wrote again, mentioning the 'Project, such as it was, in which I found all their Expedients ended, and which was suggested to me by some of the most considerable people of the Parliament here'.³

But a long letter⁴ from the new Primate, Boulter, to the Duke of Newcastle on January 19 probably had an even greater effect. He had become convinced after much discussion with the people that were well affected, that 'while the fear of these halfpence hangs over this nation it is impossible to have things easy here', and suggests that the most proper way seems to be 'the proposing some reasonable amends to Mr. Wood, in order to his resigning the patent'.

It was about the middle of January that the first meeting took place between Swift and Carteret. Swift refers to it in a letter⁵ of January 18, 1724/5, to Knightley Chetwode:

¹ *Letters to Ford*, p. 116.

² S.P. 63, vol. 385.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, reprinted, *Letters of Hugh Boulter* (Dublin 1770), p. 7.

⁵ *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 228.

‘. . . I was the other day well enough to see the Lord Lieutenant, and the town has a thousand foolish stories of what passed between us; which indeed was nothing but old friendship without a word of politics.’

Referring to these stories again on February 20, he says:¹

‘An English paper in print related a passage of two lines writ on a card, and the answer, of which story four parts in five is false. The answer was writ by Sir W. Fownes. The real account is a trifle, and not worth the time to relate. . . .’ After this meeting Swift seems to have remained in touch with Carteret and his family during the spring, as we hear of him entertaining Lady Carteret at a picnic in Naboth’s Vineyard;² and before leaving Dublin in April he writes to Carteret to take leave of them:

‘I have been so long afflicted with a deafness, and at present with a giddiness in my head, both old distempers, that I have not been able to attend your Excellency and my Lady Carteret, as my inclination and duty oblige me; and I am now hastening into the country, to try what exercise and better air will do toward my recovery. Not knowing how long I may be absent, or how soon you may think fit to leave this kingdom, I take this occasion of returning to your Excellency and my Lady Carteret, my most humble acknowledgements for your great civilities toward me, which I wish it were in my power to deserve. . . .’³

To gain more time Carteret prorogued Parliament from March 24 until August 6, and evidently hoped that when Middleton’s successor, the new Lord Chancellor, Richard West, arrived from England on July 26 he would have been authorized at least confidentially to give him some information what policy the Ministry

¹ *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 230.

² *Ibid.*, p. 234 *note*.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

had decided upon.¹ Disappointed in this, he wrote a strong letter² the next day, stating that some disturbance was anticipated as soon as Parliament met, and therefore asking to know 'for the information of the Lords Justices, your Excellency's Opinion, in what manner it will be most advisable for His Majesty's Servants in Ireland, to behave themselves, in case of any Attempt of this nature; and if you have thought of any Expedient, that may be proper to put an entire End to this unhappy Affair, I hope you will be so good as to acquaint me with it, that the Lords Justices may consider of it, and send your Excellencye their Directions thereupon'.

However, Parliament was again prorogued until September 7, and during August further warnings³ were sent to the Ministry from Boulter and West and Carteret. At last on August 19, 1725, a letter was sent from the Lords Justices of England to the Lord-Lieutenant, reporting that Wood had surrendered the Patent: 'His Majesty having obtained of Mr. Wood, a Surrender of his Grant of the Coynage of Copper Money for Ireland, the Lords Justices have, with all possible expedition, taken care to have it pass the proper legal Forms, and have ordered me to Transmit to your Excellency an Exemplification of that Surrender, which you will receive herewith. Their Excellencies thought so very important a Dispatch, & one may say, so acceptable a present to the Kingdom of Ireland,—should not be sent by a Common Messenger, but have charged Mr. Edgecomb with it, who will have the honour to deliver it to you.

'Their Excellencies have also commanded me to signify their Directions, that mention be made of this

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 385—Letter from West to Newcastle, July 26, 1725.

² Ibid., Carteret to Newcastle, July 27, 1725.

³ S.P. 63, vol. 386.

Surrender in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the ensuing Sessions of the Parliament of Ireland, and your Excellency's great abilitys leave them no room to doubt, but this extraordinary Instance of His Majesty's Condescension to the Desires and Petitions of His People of Ireland, will be set before them in such a Light, as may give them a due sence of His Majesty's very great Goodness to them, and dispose them to make suitable returns of Duty and Gratitude.'¹

Mr. Edgewcomb arrived on August 25; the Council met the next day,² and proclaimed the news amid universal satisfaction. Those in authority and those who were well affected were delighted to have this cause of disaffection removed, and gave expression to their satisfaction in phrases unusual in state letters. Connolly writes³ for instance: 'The News . . . is so glorious and agreeable that I know not how to express myself; My heart is full of joy and loaden with the most gratefull acknowledgements to his Majesty, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Grafton and all the Ministry—this extraordinary instance of favour and indulgence from the Crown will I hope putt the Parliament in such a temper that they will demonstrate that they are truly sensible of his Majesty's goodness to them.' There was another set, however, as both Boulter and West were not slow to point out,⁴ 'who affect to lessen the King's goodness, and to represent the whole as an Act more of Justice than Grace, and value themselves upon it as an effect of their Vigorous Opposition to the Patent'. And the people of Dublin rejoiced as at a great triumph, and openly celebrated the victory of the Drapier.

The Drapier himself, who had been occupied during the summer with another Letter which was intended to be published just before the opening of Parliament, was content to put it away unprinted. This letter was

¹ S.P. 63, vol. 386.² Ibid.³ Ibid.⁴ Ibid.

entitled *An humble Address to both Houses of Parliament* and was written in order to draw the attention of Parliament to the many grievances of Ireland, and to demand that they should be dealt with before the granting of any supplies; and in particular, and before everything else, to state once more very plainly that it was the wish of the nation that there should be a strict examination of the pernicious fraud of William Wood.¹

It is interesting to find in connexion with this letter a further indication of Swift's method of writing and publishing these papers, though it is possible that, as this was written while he was away from Dublin, he was obliged to rely more than was his custom on the assistance of his friends. We hear of it for the first time in a letter to Sheridan from Quilca, dated June 29, 1725: 'Pray remember to leave the pamphlet with Worrall, and give him directions, unless you have settled it already some other way. You know it must come out just when the Parliament meets.'²

Parliament was then expected to meet on August 6, but was prorogued again until September 7, so that the publication was delayed. But on August 27 Swift writes to Worrall about the final arrangements:

'I gave Jack Grattan the papers corrected, and I think half spoiled, by the cowardly caution of him and others. He promised to transcribe them time enough, and my desire is they may be ready to be published upon the first day the Parliament meets. I hope you will contrive it among you, that it may be sent unknown, as usual, to some printer, with proper directions. I had lately a letter without a name, telling me that I have got a sop to hold my tongue, and that it is determined we must have that grievance, etc., forced on us. My intention is to return about the beginning of October, if my occasions do not hinder me. Before that time it

¹ See below, p. 150.

² *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 247.

will be seen how the Parliament will act. They who talk with me think they will be slaves as usual, and led where the government pleases.¹

On August 31 Swift got the news that the Patent had been surrendered, and wrote immediately to Worrall to stop the printing. ' . . . Since Wood's patent is cancelled, it will by no means be convenient to have the paper printed, as I suppose you, and Jack Grattan, and Sheridan will agree; therefore if it be with the printer, I would have it taken back, and the press broke, and let her² be satisfied. The work is done, and there is no more need of the Drapier.'³ Now that the struggle was ending, he was more than ever content to leave the shouting to the 'Makers of Songs and Ballads', who were enjoying themselves at the Club at Mr. Taplin's, at the Sign of the Drapier's Head in Truck-Street.

With brisk merry Lays,
We'll sing to the Praise
Of that honest Patriot, the *Drapier*;
Who, all the World knows,
Confounded our Foes,
With nothing but Pen, Ink, and Paper.
.
Then join Hand in Hand,
To each other firm stand,
All Health to the *Club* and the *Drapier*;
Who merrily meet,
And Sing in *Truck-Street*,
In Praise of the well-written Paper.

But this was not quite the end of the affair. When the houses of Parliament were at last summoned on September 21, 1725, just two years after the presentation of their first Addresses against the Patent, to hear the Speech from the Throne, the Lord-Lieutenant was able to meet them with full confidence of complete support.

¹ Ibid., p. 264. ² See below, p. 199. ³ *Corr.*, vol. iii, p. 266.

He began:

‘My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘I have his Majesty’s Commands, at the Opening of this Session, to acquaint you, that an entire End is put to the Patent, formerly granted to Mr. Wood, . . . by a full and effectual Surrender thereof to His Majesty, an Exemplification of which, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, shall be laid before you.’

And he added:

‘I doubt not but you will make such suitable Returns as may convince the World, that you are truly sensible of the Happiness you have enjoyed under his Majesty’s most mild and gracious Government etc.’¹

The House of Commons immediately drew up an address of thanks to his Majesty and to the Lord-Lieutenant, which was agreed to unanimously on the following day and immediately presented. In the House of Lords, however, there was still a last flicker of independence and self-justification, which it needed all the influence of the new Primate to stamp out. It was of small importance, and may indeed be regarded as merely a personal gesture from the Archbishop of Dublin, who could not forgive a Ministry who had put aside his own claims to make an English appointment to the Primacy. But it developed into a fantastic debate² which lasted two or three days in the House of Lords, and provided an excellent topic for the ballad-makers. It arose out of a discussion of the form which the address of thanks should take, and involved the words—‘to express the grateful Sense they have of his Majesty’s royal Favour and Condescension in putting so effectual an End to the Patent’. An amendment was proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin that after

¹ *Journal of House of Commons of Ireland*, vol. iii, p. 398.

² *Journal of House of Lords of Ireland*, vol. ii, p. 809.

the word 'Majesty's' and before the word 'royal' these words should be inserted, viz. 'great Wisdom'. The amendment was carried, before the implication of the change was wholly realized. The scene that followed provided Dr. Coghill with the material for a most entertaining letter to Southwell:

'... as soon as the vote was passed the Archbishop could not contain himself, but out of the fullnesse of his heart, he said to the Primate, who sat next him, that he had clinched the matter, for if it was wisdom to gett the Patent surrendred, it must have been the contrary to have granted it, this gave the alarm, and upon the debate of the Adresse, after it was brought into the house, it was urged that this word was moved as an affront either to his Majesty or his ministers, and therefore would be improper and indecent to use it in an adresse of thanks for the greatest act of favour that cou'd be done us, on the other side it was urged that no body could deny his Majesties wisdom in all his actions, that the word was inserted by order of the House and could not be struck out, and that nothing could be a greater affront than putting a negative on that word, after three days debate, the word was left out 12 affirmatives, 21 negatives. Archbp of Dublin and Ld Midleton were those who most strongly insisted for the word, and the Archbp went so far as to enter his protest, but in this he was single, some few days after a paper was published, and by order of the Lords burned by the common hangman, this paper was talked off att my Ld Mayor's publick dinner, where the Archbp was, and it was said it was an insolent impudent paper, but says the Archbp, it has the misfortune to be true, my Ld Lieut. replied sure your Grace does not think I whispered as that paper says, No indeed my Lord, says the Archbp, for you spoke out aloud; my Ld. Lieut. fired a little att this, but passed it by with a jest.'¹

¹ B.M. *Add. MSS.* 9713—Letter to Southwell, dated Oct. 9, 1725.

The paper referred to here was entitled *On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate*, which has been attributed to Swift.¹ The occasion was certainly one to call forth a Swiftian comment; but he was still away at Quilca, and by this time probably tired of the whole business and inclined to leave such opportunities to his friends.

Minerva has vow'd since the bishops do slight her,
 Shou'd the reverend peers by chance ere invite her,
 She's resolv'd never more to be known by the Mitre.
 The temporal lords, who voted against her,
 She frankly forgives, as not having incens'd her,
 For securing their pensions is best proof of their sense, Sir.
 At first putting the question, their lordship's were for't,
 And his Grace's wise notion did bravely support,
 Till positive orders was whisper'd from Court.
 So this they allege in their justification,
 They vote for their bread in undoing the nation,
 And the first law of nature is self-preservation.

It was certainly written by one of the group; for in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Nicolson, referring to the House of Lords' Committee,² which had been ordered to examine the printer of the above, adds: ' 'tis expected that, in the course of their Enquiries, they'll discover the true Author of the Draper's Letters. I do very much question whether such a Discovery will be of any sort of use in our present Circumstances. That Writer is, at present, in great Repute; the Darling of the populace; His Image and Superscription on a great many Sign-Posts in this City and other great Towns; . . .'³

¹ Ball, F. Elrington, *Swift's Verse*, p. 193.

² *Journal of House of Lords*, vol. ii, p. 815. They ordered the printer to be taken into custody and the pamphlet to be burnt by the common hangman. At their request Carteret issued a Proclamation on Nov. 3, 1725, offering a reward of £100 for the discovery of the author of this libel. There is a copy in the B.M. (C. 21, f. 136).

³ *Wake MSS.*, vol. CCXLVII. Letter dated Oct. 12, 1725.

It was a curious triumph for Swift—to be called ‘The Hibernian Patriot’, to be so entirely associated with Irish affairs at the very moment when he had just completed his final revision of *Gulliver’s Travels*, and was planning to return again to London, after an absence of twelve years, once more in this fresh disguise to challenge the attention of a larger world. Nevertheless he continued to exert and enjoy his unique power and influence in Ireland, and until his death the name of Drapier was constantly invoked with magic effect in Irish politics.¹

¹ See Appendix I, p. 323.

II. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND TEXTUAL

APART from the original editions of the first five letters, which were printed separately for Swift by John Harding in 1724 during the actual course of the campaign against Wood's Coinage, three different collected editions of the *Drapier's Letters* appeared during Swift's lifetime. These are *Fraud Detected*, published by George Faulkner in Dublin in 1725, *The Hibernian Patriot*, published by A. Moor in London in 1730, and *Volume IV* of Swift's *Works*, published by Faulkner in Dublin in 1735. The first two of these are of no great importance textually, being reprints of Harding's text. The third, however, provides us with a text in which the alterations indicate definitely that the revision was made by Swift himself. But the chief proof of the authority of this 1735 edition is the fact that here Faulkner was able to print for the first time the sixth letter, addressed to Lord Midleton, and the seventh letter, addressed to Both Houses of Parliament.

We are left therefore with this one problem, namely, to decide what is the relative value and importance of the original text of the first five letters, printed by John Harding in 1724, and the revised text of these letters, printed by Faulkner in 1735.

In the first place, Swift refuses to accept full responsibility for the text, either as it appeared in 1724 or as revised in 1735. In the *Directions to the Printer* prefixed to the Letter to Lord Molesworth, he says: 'My Custom is to Dictate to a 'Prentice who can write in a Feigned Hand, and what is written we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy.'¹ And he adds in a Postscript: 'For want of Intercourse between You and Me, which I never will suffer, your People are apt to

¹ See below, p. 99.

make very gross Errors in the Press, which I desire you will provide against.¹ But this account is almost too straightforward and simple to be wholly true; and Sheridan's story about Robert Blakely, Swift's butler, being his amanuensis, and except Dr. Sheridan the only person entrusted with the secret of the Drapier's identity, is equally misleading. It is true, of course, that Swift himself had no direct dealings with the printer; but it is difficult to believe that the arrangements were so carelessly or so secretly made as he suggests. It is worth remembering that at least one of the later letters was submitted to several of Swift's friends for criticism, and then revised and corrected and recopied in manuscript with great care; and it was then not entrusted to a blackguard boy, but was given to one of these friends to make the necessary arrangements for its publication on a certain definite date.² It does not seem to me at all likely that such an important letter as the Fourth, which was timed to appear exactly at the moment of Carteret's arrival, would have been prepared for the printer with any less care. And when, two days later, a second corrected edition was published, and a separate sheet of *errata*³ was issued for those who had the first edition, I do not believe that these corrections were made by the printer, but by Swift or one of his friends.

But the most interesting problem is that presented by the first letter. For in this case it is particularly difficult to believe that the only go-between was a blackguard boy, unless he made several journeys, and carried with him full written instructions. It was first printed on a single sheet, folio, four pages in double columns, with the title across the full width of the top of the first page, and at the end: 'DUBLIN: Printed by *John Harding* in Molesworth's Court, 1723-4.' This is undoubtedly the first edition, and may be dated

¹ See below, p. 100.

² See p. lxii.

³ See p. lxxxvi.

February or possibly early March 1723/4. None of Swift's editors or bibliographers refer to this edition. I have seen only one copy of it, which is in the Goldsmiths' Library. It may well be that only a few copies were printed in this form, as it would be inconvenient for distribution through the post. Swift had first referred to the threat of the farthings in a letter to Ford, dated February 13, 1723/4, but without mentioning his pamphlet. Writing again on April 2, he says: 'I do not know whether I told you that I sent out a small Pamphlet under the Name of a Draper, laying the whole Vilany open, and advising People what to do; about 2000 of them have been dispersed by Gentlemen in severall Parts of the Country, . . .'¹

That seems to me to show that the first letter was written as early as February 1723/4, especially if we accept the statement of Faulkner in his *Further Account of the Life of Dean Swift, in a Letter to the Earl of Chesterfield*. 'The Dean took much Pains to be well informed in all Affairs relating to *Wood's* Halfpence and the Constitutions and Laws of *England and Ireland*, relating to the Prerogatives of the Crown, and the Liberties of the People; which made him take more Time in writing the Drapier's Letters, than any other Part of his Works; the shortest of which Letters, took up at least ten Days Time to finish and to write them according to Law, and to the Level and Understanding of the most illiterate of the common People.'²

But the 2,000 copies that had been distributed in March were certainly copies of what is really the second edition, hitherto known as the first edition, printed in small octavo, with a separate title-page, and with a number of corrections and additions. That is to say, Swift must have sent a corrected copy to the printer,

¹ *Letters to Ford*, p. 106.

² Swift, *Works* (Dublin 1763), vol. xi, p. 321.

and perhaps gave instructions for the change of format. But both editions prove, when measured, to have been printed from the same type with necessary modifications. The title is changed, two postscripts are added, and corrections are made of a few obvious printer's errors at the bottom of the second column of p. 2 of the folio copy. But the only changes in the setting of the lines occur at each point where the type would have to be broken in transferring it to the new forms. If it had been entirely reset, the line-setting would either have been followed throughout or have been changed altogether.

We may conclude I think that Harding's text gives us what Swift originally wrote, with the exception of a number of printer's errors for the most part easily recognizable. It is not possible to say how far the spelling and punctuation were left unchanged; but if we may judge by a comparison with Swift's manuscript letters of this period, and allow also for the assumed role of the draper, there is no reason to suspect that the printer made many alterations.

It is even more difficult to know exactly what happened in the preparation of the text of Faulkner's edition of 1735. In spite of Swift's affectation of indifference, there is a phrase in a letter to Ford of October 9, 1733, which suggests that ultimately Swift was content to give Faulkner all the assistance he could have hoped for: 'The man behaved himself with all respect, and since it was an evil I could not avoyd, I had rather they should be printed correctly than otherwise.'¹ It is true that in writing to Ford, Swift is chiefly concerned with the text of *Gulliver's Travels*, and Mr. Harold Williams has been able to show conclusively that Swift revised and corrected this *Third Volume* of Faulkner's edition.² But a careful

¹ *Letters to Ford*, p. 154.

² *Gulliver's Travels* (ed. Harold Williams, First Edition Club, 1926), pp. xl-l.

examination of the text of the *Drapier's Letters* in the *Fourth Volume* seems to me to show with equal certainty that Faulkner's own story of what took place, published in answer to Hawkesworth's attacks, is not far from the truth. He says: 'Proposals were published, and Subscriptions came in very fast, which were shewn to the Author, who consented to the Printing, on the following Conditions; That no Jobb should be made, but full Value given for the Money: That the Editor should attend him early every Morning, or when most convenient, to read to him, that the Sounds might strike the Ear, as well as the Sense the Understanding, and had always two Men Servants present for this Purpose; and when he had any Doubt, he would ask them the Meaning of what they heard; which, if they did not comprehend, he would alter and amend until they understood it perfectly well, and then would say, *This will do; for I write to the Vulgar, more than to the Learned*. Not satisfied with this Preparation for the Press, he corrected every Sheet of the first seven Volumes that were published in his Life Time, desiring the Editor to write Notes, being much younger than the Dean, acquainted with most of the Transactions of his Life, as well as with those of several of his Friends; the Author being very communicative to the Editor; who, if there should be any Errors in them, will be glad to be set right, and will, with Pleasure, print an Errata for that Purpose, to render this Edition as correct as possible; . . .'¹

We shall naturally ask first what text was used when Faulkner read over the *Drapier's Letters* in the audience of Swift and his two men-servants. Obviously, Faulkner's earlier collected edition (1725) of which Swift approved sufficiently to have sent a copy with an inscription from M. B. Drapier to the Bodleian Library. That it was certainly this edition may be shown from the

¹ Swift, *Works* (Dublin 1768), vol. i, p. viii.

repetition in the text of 1735 of certain misprints and alterations, which first appeared in 1725.¹

The alterations in the text are exactly what one would expect from these circumstances; changes in a phrase or the addition of a phrase to give greater clarity or emphasis; and sometimes a phrase in the notes, which Faulkner claims as his own work,² betrays what he has described as 'the communicativeness of the Author to the Editor'. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the notes are not always quite accurate, especially those concerned with the dissolving of the Grand Jury, and the dates of the last two letters. Can we then believe that Swift approved of them, and even corrected all the sheets in proof? That is not impossible, if we remember that Swift was not a careful editor. He constantly complained of loss of memory, and he gives a curious example of it in his letters to Ford at this very time. Ford had sent to him on November 6, 1733, 'a Catalogue of Pamphlets & Papers, bound and single'³—all the earlier tracts of Swift which were in his possession. Referring to this on November 20, Swift says: 'In Your Catalogue of Pamphlets there are some I do not remember, I mean, *Journy to Paris*, *Remarks about Greg*, *Peace and Dunkirk*, *Windsor Prophecy*, *Pretenders Letter to a Whig Lord*. I fancy I did not write any of these. And, as for the rest, they were temporary occasional things, that dye naturally with the Change of times, and therefore I do not think any Printer in London, much less here, would concern himself about them.'⁴ That is very like Swift; he was not only capable of forgetting some of the tracts he had written, and the exact occasion which had called them

¹ See footnotes to text, *passim*.

² As to the authorship of the *Prefaces* see *Corr.*, vol. vi, p. 224, and note 2.

³ *Corr.*, vol. v, p. 39.

⁴ *Letters to Ford*, p. 163.

forth; he was also careless about checking such details, and inclined quite honestly to under-estimate the interest of his readers in writings which he himself regarded as of little importance when their immediate purpose had been accomplished.

The fact that the 1735 edition contains inaccuracies need not prevent us in the least from accepting Faulkner's story. We may also be quite sure that everything included in this volume is certainly Swift's work, namely the seven *Drapier's Letters*, *Seasonable Advice*, the *Presentment of the Grand Jury*, and *An Account of Wood's Execution*, &c. For though he could forget his own work, he was never, I think, capable of mistaking the work of others for his own.

Faulkner's claim that his edition is alone authentic is further corroborated by Lord Orrery's statement that Swift did actually correct every sheet of the first six volumes.¹ But that must not be understood to mean that Swift himself was in any way responsible for the constant changes in spelling, punctuation, and typography which are to be found in Faulkner's text. What actually happened is more accurately described by Swift's own remark in a letter to Pope: 'Some friends correct the errors, and now and then I look on them for a minute or two.'² The alterations that were made at such moments are quite unmistakable. For instance, in writing to Lord Molesworth Swift had with veiled irony professed to withdraw his dangerous remarks upon the subject of Ireland's dependency. In revising the letter he turns round again, neatly changing a word or two to make his recalcitrancy more emphatic than ever. In 1724 he had written:

'But since my *Betters* are of a *Different Opinion*, and

¹ Cf. *Remarks*, 1752, p. 81.

² *Corr.*, vol. v, p. 1.

desire *further Dependencies*, I shall readily submit, not insisting on the *Exception* I made of *M. B. Drapier*.'

In 1735 he wrote:

'But since my *Betters* are of a *Different Opinion*, and desire *further Dependencies*, I shall outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own Heart, upon the *Exception* I made of *M. B. Drapier*.'¹

In 1724 he had promised 'never again to contest' the question whether there be any such thing as a dependency of Ireland upon England. In 1735 he declares that he 'will die rather than grant it.'² Such changes indicate clearly enough how Swift used his opportunity to correct the text of the new edition. It is perhaps safer therefore to hesitate before accepting it as the only authentic text, and as entirely superseding the text of the separate letters, originally printed by Harding.

As to the London editions of the *Drapier's Letters*, it may be confidently stated that they have no authority whatsoever. Hawkesworth's criticism of Faulkner is on the face of it not worth consideration: he says, referring to the edition of 1735: 'In this collection, although printed in Ireland, the tracts relating to that country, and in particular, the *Drapier's Letters*, are thrown together in great confusion';³ and when he continues at some length to elaborate his objections he becomes so vague that it is difficult to understand exactly what he disapproves of, unless it is the inclusion of the two later letters and the shorter papers, none of which can be described as 'posthumous and doubtful pieces'. It is enough to say that his own arrangement is much less satisfactory than Faulkner's, and to remember that even Deane Swift allowed that the Irish Edition was not half as bad as 'that whole injudicious wretched silly

¹ See below, p. 105.

² See below, p. 109.

³ Swift, *Works* (ed. Hawkesworth 1760), vol. i, p. iii.

Edition printed in London'.¹ His further comments on Hawkesworth's edition provide such an amusing sample of editorial self-complacency that they deserve to be quoted, and at the same time may serve as a warning against allowing too much weight to any statements of Swift's earliest editors.

'In short, there is not so bad an Edition of any one Author to be met with in any of the Libraries of Europe as the English Edition of Dr. Swift's Works: in every circumstance it is the most wretched imaginable. There are not three good notes in the whole Sett of Volumes; most of them are calculated to mislead instead of guiding and directing those who want to be informed, and many of them are absolutely false; and not to mention a thousand inaccuracies and Blunders of the Editor. . . .

' . . . the index to those volumes is not worth taking out of the dirt. . . . I have talked over a good many of these points with some of the Printers in London, who are not only thoroughly satisfied that such an Edition is wanting, but also very desirous that I should engage in it; and what is more they are convinced that if I do not prepare an Edition for the use of Posterity, there will never be any one valuable Edition of the Dr.'s Works until the Day of Judgement. And this, modestly speaking, I believe is Truth; because no man living who had not spent several years in Ireland and was acquainted with Persons who existed and Affairs which happened between thirty and forty-five years ago, as well as with many local Anecdotes, could, with any hope of success, engage in such a Work. How well I may chance to execute such a work I will not pretend to say, but this I can assert with a very safe conscience, there are but two men living who could, if they were so in-

¹ *Letters from Deane Swift to Sanderson Miller* (London 1910), p. 74.

clined, rival any Edition that I should publish; and both these men although wise and learned, are each of them near fourscore; and what is worse, are abundantly too rich to trouble their heads about any such matter. I should be glad the younger of them were to live until my Edition is published, that I might have his strictures which I would publish in a threepenny Appendix, for the use of the Purchasers of mine, so far as I was either detected in an error or fell short in my account of persons and things.¹

Unfortunately neither Deane Swift nor either of the two rich octogenarians ever gave us a complete edition of Swift's work, and their special knowledge of persons and affairs in Ireland in the early part of the eighteenth century was never made use of to provide satisfactory annotations to Swift's Irish tracts for the use of posterity. The work he actually performed as an editor hardly justifies his contempt for his predecessors. Neither Sheridan nor Nichols adds much to our knowledge of the Drapier, but Scott collected a good deal of valuable material, and printed a number of pamphlets and documents concerning Wood, which provide a much more extensive and detailed survey of the whole course of the campaign. Five of these papers, included in volume vii of his edition, were in his opinion written by Swift; 'the style and matter appear fully to vindicate our ascribing them to Swift'.² It is of course impossible to say how far Swift and his friends may have worked together; it is most likely that a good many of the papers printed by John Harding came from one or other of them. But it seems on the whole better to accept only those printed by Faulkner in 1735 as wholly Swift's work. The text of Scott is modernized, and the more precise method of punctuation adopted spoils the effect of colloquial

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff.

² Swift, *Works* (ed. Sir W. Scott, 1814), vol. vii, p. 55.

freedom which Swift may have wished to produce. He notes rather spasmodically a few differences between the Harding and the Faulkner text, and adds some good notes and one or two of the more necessary documents for an understanding of the text.

But by far the most important and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Drapier was made by Monck Mason, who gives a very full account of the whole controversy, with quotations from unpublished letters of the Archbishop of Dublin, and a list of papers in prose and verse, dealing with Wood, most of which he had collected.¹ These were afterwards bought by Forster, and were bequeathed by him to the South Kensington Library.

This editorial material was to a large extent made available in a very convenient form in the edition of Swift's *Prose Works*, edited by Temple-Scott, which with the bibliography of Spencer Jackson is still indispensable to all students of Swift. The text of the *Drapier's Letters*, however, in the fifth volume of this edition is a modernized text based on Scott, altered occasionally in rather a haphazard fashion by reference to the Harding and Faulkner editions. The annotations are much fuller than in any earlier edition, but are sometimes inaccurate in detail. Since the appearance of this edition, two other works have been published which are of great value to an editor of the *Drapier's Letters*, in throwing light on the activities of Swift and his friends at the time, and in fixing the exact dates of the writing and publication of the letters. The first is Dr. Elrington Ball's edition of Swift's *Correspondence* (1910-14); and the second is Professor Nichol Smith's edition of the *Letters of Swift to Ford* (1935).

For this edition it has seemed advisable to print from

¹ *History and Antiquities of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin* (1820), notes, pp. 335-50 and lxxxv-xcvii.

the Harding text of the first five letters. For in addition to what has been already said about the authority of this text, it is further of definite historical interest. Obvious misprints only have been changed—the 'gross errors' which Swift complained of.¹ At the same time all the important variants in the collected editions of 1725, 1730, and 1735 are given at the foot of the page, and all the notes which were added under Swift's supervision in 1735. Changes in spelling, punctuation, and typography are not given unless they alter the sense, because they are probably varied only according to the usages of the different printers—and in any case, to do this satisfactorily would require a textual apparatus so complicated as to be useless. The text of the shorter papers is taken from original copies, described below; and the text of *Letters VI and VII with An Account of Wood's Execution* from Faulkner's edition of the *Works* (1735), vol. iv.

I have examined all the copies that are available in the following libraries:

British Museum	B.M.
Forster Collection, South Kensington Library.	<i>Forster.</i>
Goldsmiths' Library, University of London.	<i>Goldsmiths.</i>
Public Record Office.	P.R.O.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.	<i>Bod.</i>
Bradshaw Collection, University Library, Cambridge.	<i>Bradshaw.</i>
Trinity College, Dublin.	T.C.D.
National Library, Dublin.	N.L.D.
Haliday Collection, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.	<i>Haliday.</i>

¹ See below, pp. 181-3.

Gilbert Collection, Dublin.	<i>Gilbert.</i>
Harvard College Library.	H.C.L.
Yale College Library.	Y.C.L.
Seligman Collection, Columbia University, New York.	<i>Seligman.</i>

III. COLLATIONS

LETTER I

A. *First Edition.*

Half-Title: A / LETTER / TO THE / SHOPKEEPERS, TRADESMEN, FARMERS, and COMMON PEOPLE / of IRELAND, Concerning the BRASS HALF-PENCE Coined by Mr. WOODS, / with a DESIGN to have them PASS in this Kingdom. / [Rule] / By M. B. Drapier. / [Rule] / [At the end, bottom of page 4] DUBLIN: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court, 1723-4.

Collation: Folio, 4 pages, printed in double columns. 32.3 cm.

Notes: The following misprints occur on page 2, column 2: l. 52, Kindom; l. 59, becau; ll. 61-2 'Sterling Current which is Lawful Money' instead of 'Sterling which is Lawful Current Money'.

It is curious that—as far as I know—this edition in folio has hitherto escaped notice. I have been able to find only one copy, which was bought at the Crossley sale in 1903. If, as I have already suggested, only a few copies of this edition were printed, it is quite possible that this is a unique copy.

It has been hitherto supposed that the first of the *Drapier's Letters* was written in April 1724. But the date of this edition shows that it was published already in March, 1723/4; and evidence has been given above to support the conjecture that Swift began to write it in February. See p. lxx.

Copy: Goldsmiths.

B. *Second Edition* (hitherto known as the First Edition).

Title within double lines: A / LETTER / TO THE / Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, / and Common-People of IRELAND, / Concerning the / Brass Half-Pence / Coined by / Mr. WOODS, / WITH / A DESIGN to have them Pass in this / KINGDOM. / Wherein is shewn the Power of the said PATENT, / the Value of the HALF-PENCE, and how far every Person / may be oblig'd to take the same in Payments, and how / to behave in Case such an Attempt shou'd be made by / WOODS or any other Person. / [Very Proper to be kept in every FAMILY.] / By M. B. Drapier. / [Rule] / Dublin: Printed by J. Harding in Molesworth's-Court.

Collation: 8vo. A⁸, pp. [1]–16.

17.5 cm. (uncut).

Contents: A1a title; A1b–A8b text.

Notes: In this second edition the title has been enlarged, and the postscript added; the misprints noted above in the first edition are here corrected.

There is no date on the title-page, but it seems likely that this is the edition referred to by Swift in his letter to Ford, dated April 2, 1724, when he says that ‘about 2000 of them have been dispersed by Gentlemen in severall Parts of the Country’. It must, then, have also been published in March 1723/4.

Copies: Goldsmiths; B.M.; T.C.D.; Bradshaw; Haliday; Gilbert; Y.C.L. (2).

C. *Third Edition.*

Title within double lines: A/ LETTER / TO THE / Shop-
Keepers, Tradesmen, Far-/mers, and Common-People of /
IRELAND, / Concerning the / Brass Half-pence / Coined by /
Mr WOODS, / WITH / A Design to have them Pass in this /
KINGDOM. / Wherein is shewn the Power of the said PA-
TENT, the Value of the HALF-PENCE, and / how far
every Person may be oblig’d to take the / same in Payments, and
how to behave in Case / such an Attempt shou’d be made by
WOODS / or any other Person. / [Very Proper to be kept in
every FAMILY.] / [Rule] / By M. B. Drapier. / [Rule] /
DUBLIN: Printed by J. Harding / in Molesworth’s Court.

Collation and Contents: the same as B.

Notes: In this third edition there are differences of punctuation and spelling on every page, and alterations which indicate that it was carelessly set up. It seems probable that it may have been hurriedly put out as late as August 1724, as a result of Swift’s complaint at the end of Letter II that Harding had allowed it to go out of print, in spite of continued demands for it. This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that (except in the title) the name WOOD is correctly spelt throughout, instead of WOODS, which is the form of spelling used still in Letter II as well as in the first two editions of Letter I, and was probably generally used in Dublin, until the correct form was introduced by the newspaper reports of the recommendations of the Committee of the Privy Council which appeared on August 18, 1724.

Copies: N.L.D.; H.C.L.

LETTER II

A. *First Edition.*

Title within double lines: A / LETTER / TO / Mr. *Harding* the Printer, / Upon Occasion of a / PARAGRAPH / IN HIS / News-Paper / of *Aug.* 1st. / Relating to Mr. *Woods's* Half-Pence. / [Rule] / By M. B. *Drapier.* / AUTHOR of the LETTER to the / SHOP-KEEPERS, &c. / [Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by *John Harding* in *Molesworth's-Court* in *Fishamble-Street.*

Collation: 8vo. A⁸, pp. [1]–16.

16.3 cm. (cut).

Contents: A1a title; A1b–A8b text.

Notes: This letter is dated 'Aug. 4. 1724'. On the same day it was advertised in *Harding's Dublin Impartial News Letter* as to be published on the following Thursday, August 6. The second page of the copy in the Bradshaw Collection is wrongly numbered (3).

Copies: Goldsmiths; B.M.; T.C.D.; Bradshaw; Seligman; Y.C.L. (3 copies).

B. *Second Edition (printed in Dublin).*

Title within double lines: A / LETTER / TO / Mr. *Harding* the Printer, / Upon Occasion of a / PARAGRAPH / IN HIS / News-Paper / of *Aug.* 1st. / Relating to Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence. / [Rule] / By M. B. *Drapier.* / AUTHOR of the LETTER to the / SHOP-KEEPERS, &c. / [Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by *J. Harding* / in *Molesworth's Court.*

Collation and Contents: the same as A.

Notes: This is a reprint of the first edition with no important corrections. The title has been reset, and there are changes in typography and punctuation on every page of the text. There are misprints on p. 9, l. 3—OBLGED—and p. 12, l. 31—beigins. In the title, and on pp. 13 and 16, we find the spelling *Wood*, elsewhere *Woods*. I have not found any announcement of this edition, but it was probably published before the end of August 1724.

I have seen only one copy of it, which is included in the volume of *Drapier Letters*, originally belonging to Lady Betty Germain.

Copy: H.C.L.

Another Edition (printed in Limerick).

Title within double lines: AN / ANSWER / TO / Mr. WOOD's Proposal, / Relating to his / COPPER--HALF--PENCE: / IN WHICH / *The Pernicious, and Ruinous / Consequence, of their being Re-/ceived, and Passing, in this / Kingdom, is clearly Stated.* / [Rule] / In a LETTER to Mr. *Harding*, Printer / in *Dublin*, upon occasion of a Paragraph, / in his News-paper, of *Aug. 1.* / [Rule] / By *M. B. Draiper*, Author of the *Letter to the / Shop-keepers, &c.* / [Rule] / [Ornament: Rising Sun.] / LIMERICK: / Printed and Sold by *S. Terry*. Price *One Penny*. / Where may be had the said *Author's Letter / to the Shopkeepers, &c* Price 1*d.*

Collation: 8vo. A⁸, pp. [1]–16.

12.5 × 10 cm.

Contents: A1a title; A1b–A8b text.

Notes: A4 only signed. Omits the last paragraph, addressed to Harding in the Dublin editions of this letter; and, on p. 16, adds an 'APPENDIX' containing a declaration of the Dublin bankers, 'sign'd on Saturday August 15', against the halfpence.

It appears to be a reprint of A, with some trivial changes in matters of punctuation, &c.

I have not been able to find a copy of this edition in any of the libraries I have visited; and so far as I know, no one has ever suggested the possibility of there being reprints of the Letters elsewhere than in Dublin.

I am indebted to Mr. Harold Williams for this description of a copy that he has recently acquired. It came from the Wallers of Castletown, and has presumably been in the family's possession ever since it was originally bought in the market-place of Limerick.

LETTER III

A. *First Edition.*

Title within double lines: SOME / Observations / Upon a PAPER, Call'd, The / REPORT / OF THE / COMMITTEE / OF THE / Most Honourable the *Privy-Council / IN / ENGLAND*, / Relating to WOOD's *Half-pence.* / [Rule] By *M. B. Drapier.* / AUTHOR of the LETTER to the / *SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.* / [Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by *John Harding* in *Moles-/worth's Court* in *Fishamble Street.*

Collation: 8vo. A-B⁸, pp. [1]-32.

Contents: A1a title; A1b-B8b text.

Notes: The last page is dated Aug: 25. 1724. and signed M.B. This edition was first announced in Harding's *Dublin News Letter* of Saturday, Aug: 29, advertised again on Sept: 5 as published that day, and again on Sept: 12 as just published. This letter is more than twice as long as the earlier letters, and the use of smaller type (pp. 27-9) may possibly mean that additions were made while it was being printed. In the later editions, however, this section is still retained unaltered. The Goldsmiths' copy may possibly be a second edition, as the errata on p. 44, ll. 9-10, and p. 48, l. 30 (see p. 181, below) have been corrected. There were at least two later issues, differing considerably, both described as the fourth edition corrected.

Copies: T.C.D.; N.L.D.; Goldsmiths; Seligman; Bradshaw (2); Y.C.L. (3).

B. 'Fourth Edition Corrected.'

Title: [As above to *SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.*] / [Rule] / The Fourth EDITION Corrected. / [Rule] / *DUBLIN:* Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-Street.

Collation and Contents: The same as A.

Notes: The text is the same as A, except for the omission of the following passage on page 23, ll. 22-5:

'The Patentee was obliged to make every Half-penny One hundred and Ten Grains *Troy* weight, whereby 2s. 2d. only could be coyned out of a Pound of Copper.'

I have found only one copy (in the Haliday Collection) in this state. The one omission hardly seems to justify the term 'corrected', and it may be that the sheets are really those of the second or third edition, bound up with a title-page of the *Fourth*. The title, however, differs from the copies of C, as 'Honourable' is correctly printed.

C. *Fourth Edition Corrected.*

Title &c.: the same as B.

Notes: In this edition the text has been reset throughout, with the exception of the passage in smaller type (pp. 27-9). Page 2 has a different initial, and changes in punctuation and spacing occur constantly, besides the definite alterations in the text, given in the footnotes. There is a misprint on the title-page—'Honourabe' for 'Honourable'.

Copies: N.L.D.; H.C.L.

LETTER IV

A. *First Edition.*

Title within double lines: A / LETTER / TO THE / WHOLE People / OF / IRELAND. / [Rule] / By M. B. Drapier. / AUTHOR of the LETTER to the / SHOP-KEEPERS, &c. / [Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by John Harding in Moles-/worth's-Court in Fishamble-Street.

Collation: 8vo. A⁸, B⁴, pp. [1]-22+[2]. 18 cm. (uncut).

Contents: A1a title; A1b blank; A2a-B3b text; B4a-b blank.

Notes: This letter is dated Oct. 13, 1724. It was published on Oct. 22, the very date of Carteret's arrival. Carteret's own marked copy is among the State Papers 63, vol. 384, in the P.R.O. and is in perfect condition. The copy in the Bradshaw Collection (a photostat of which was used for the present text) is identical, but the edges have been badly cut.

Copies: P.R.O.; Bradshaw; H.C.L.; Y.C.L.

B. *Second Edition Corrected.*

Title: The same as A, with the addition (between rules) of The Second EDITION Corrected.

Collation and Contents: The same as A with the addition on B4a of the following:

Advertisement.

THOSE who have bought the first Edition, are desir'd to mend the following ERRATA. Page 14. Line 19 between *Statutes* and *fnding*, put *without*. Pag. *id.* Line 33. between *am* and *far* put *so*. Pag. 17 Line 19. between *Lye* and *for*, instead of *even*, put *merely*. Pag. 20. Line 11. between *and*, and *Hirelings*, put *His*.

Notes: This edition was not reset entirely; it was not even carefully corrected. But the *Errata* given above have been usually corrected. There is a copy in the N.L.D. with the *Advertisement* on B4a and corrections made on pp. 17 and 20, but without the change in the title, and without the corrections on page 14. There is an imperfect copy (containing only the first 16 pages) in T.C.D. with the two rules on the title, but the words 'The Second EDITION Corrected' missing or erased.

The *Errata* were also printed separately on a small sheet and issued for the benefit of those who had already bought the first edition. One

such sheet is contained in a volume of pamphlets in N.L.D. (P. 641) bound up with *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland etc.*, printed by George Ewing, 1724.

This second edition was printed only two days after the first, and was advertised in Harding's *Dublin NewsLetter* for Tuesday, Oct: 27.

Copies: N.L.D.; T.C.D.; Gilbert; Haliday; H.C.L.; Y.C.L. (2).

SEASONABLE ADVICE

Broadside; no printer's name or place.

31·8 cm.

Dated *Novem. 11th* 1724.

Notes: Copies of this sheet were distributed through the post to a considerable number of the gentlemen and citizens of Dublin on November 14th.

The text is taken from a copy in the Forster Collection, which is identical with other copies to be found among the official correspondence in the P.R.O.

Copies: Goldsmiths; Forster; P.R.O.; Seligman.

AN EXTRACT, ETC.

An Extract out of a Book, Entituled, an exact Collection of the / Debates of the House of Commons held at *Westminster*, October / 21. 1680. *Pag.* 150.

Printed on part of a sheet (12 cm. by 18 cm.) with no name, place, or date.

Notes: The text is taken from a copy in the Bradshaw Collection, which is identical with other copies to be found among the official correspondence in the P.R.O.

Copies were distributed in Dublin a day or two after the dissolving of the Grand Jury on Nov. 21st.

Copies: Bradshaw; P.R.O.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND-JURY

THE / PRESENTMENT / OF THE / GRAND-JURY /
OF THE / COUNTY of the CITY / OF / DUBLIN.

Folio, half-sheet, 2 pages.

30 cm.

DUBLIN: Printed by *Pressick Rider* and *Thomas Harbin*,

at the *General-Post-/Office* Printing-House in the *Exchange* on *Cork-Hill*, 1724.

Notes: Prepared for the Grand-Jury to present on Nov. 28th. The text is taken from a copy in the Goldsmiths' Library.

Copies: Goldsmiths; Forster; P.R.O.; T.C.D.; Wake MSS.; Seligman.

LETTER V

Title within double lines: A / LETTER / To the Right Honourable the / Lord Viscount *Molesworth*. / [Rule] / By *M. B. Drapier*, Author of the Letter / to the *Shop-Keepers*, &c. / [Rule] / They compassed me about with Words of / Deceit, and fought against me without a Cause. / For my Love they are my Adversaries, but I give / my self unto Prayer. / And they have rewarded me Evil for Good, and / Hatred for my Love. *Psalm* 109. v. 3, 4, 5. / Seek not to be Judge, being not able to take / away Iniquity, lest at any Time thou fear the / Person of the Mighty, and lay a stumbling / Block in the Way of thy Uprightness. / Offend not against the Multitude of a City, and / then thou shalt not cast thy self down among / the People. / Bind not one Sin upon another, for in One thou / shalt not be Unpunished. *Ecclus.* Ch. 7. V. 6, / 7, 8. / [Rule] / *Non jam prima peto Mnesttheus, neque vincere certo: / Quanquam O! Sed superent, quibus Hoc, Neptune, / dedisti.* / [Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by *John Harding* in *Moles-/worth's Court* in *Fishamble-street*.

Collation: 8vo. A-B⁸. pp. [i]-[viii]+[1]-22+[2].

Contents: A1a title; A1b blank; A2a-A4a Directions to the Printer; A4b blank; A5a-B7b text; B8a-b blank leaf.

Notes: The text of this letter is remarkably good. None of the copies examined show any variants, and I have found no reference to a second edition.

The letter is dated *From my Shop in St. Francis-Street, Dec. 14. 1724*, but it did not appear until Dec. 31, when Swift himself notes in a letter to Ford—'This Day is come out a fifth Letter from the Drapier inscribed to Ld Molesworth, . . .' (*Letters to Ford*, p. 116).

Copies: B.M.; Goldsmiths; T.C.D. (2); N.L.D. (2); Bradshaw; Haliday; Y.C.L.; H.C.L.

COLLECTED EDITIONS

I. 1725. Fraud Detected &c. (Dublin.)

Title within double lines: FRAUD DETECTED: / OR, THE / *Hibernian Patriot.* / CONTAINING, / All the *Drapier's* Letters to the People of *Ireland*, / on *Wood's* Coinage, &c. Interspers'd with the / following Particulars, / *viz.* /

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. The Addresses of the /
Lords and Commons of /
<i>Ireland</i> , against <i>Wood's</i> /
Coin. / | V. Extract of the Votes /
of the House of Com- /
mons of <i>England</i> , upon /
breaking a Grand Jury. / |
| II. His Majesty's Answer /
to the said Addresses. / | VI. Considerations on /
Attempts, made to /
pass <i>Wood's</i> Coin. / |
| III. The Report of his /
Majesty's most honou- /
rable Privy Council. / | VII. Reasons, shewing /
Necessity the Peo- /
ple of <i>Ireland</i> are un- /
der, to refuse <i>Wood's</i> /
Coinage. / |
| IV. Seasonable Advice to /
the Grand Jury. / | |

To which are added, / PROMETHEUS. A POEM. / Also a new Poem to the *Drapier*; and the Songs Sung / at the *Drapier's* Club in *Truck Street, Dublin*, never / before printed. With a PREFACE, explaining / the Usefulness of the Whole. / [Rule] / *Dublin*: Re-printed and Sold by *George Faulkner* / in *Pembroke-Court, Castle-street*, 1725.

Collation: 8vo. [*]-***4, [A⁴], B-Ee⁴. 120 leaves. pp. [i]-vi+
[7]-14+[1]-[224]. 15.8 cm.

Contents: [*]1a title; [*]1b blank; [*]2a-[*]4b preface; ***1a-***2a Address of the Commons to his Majesty; ***2b-***3a Address of the Lords to his Majesty; ***3b His Majesty's Answer; ***4a-***4b To the worthy AUTHOR of the *Drapier's* LETTERS, by a Youth of Fourteen Years of Age; [A]1a title of Letter I; [A]1b blank; [A]2a-C2a text of Letter I; C2b-E4a text of Report of Privy Council; E4b-G4b text of Letter II; H1a-M4a text of Letter III; M4b-Q1b text of Letter IV; Q2a-Q4a text of Seasonable Advice; Q4b An Extract &c.; R1a title of Letter V; R1b blank; R2a-R3b Directions to the Printer; R4a-U2b text of Letter V; U3a-X4b text of Some Considerations; Y1a title of Some Reasons; Y1b Dedication to Lord

Chancellor signed D. B.; Y2a-Dd3a text of Some Reasons; Dd3b-Dd4b Prometheus; Ee1a-Ee4b New Songs &c.

Notes: The text of this edition was set up from copies of the single letters, printed by Harding, with very slight alterations of punctuation, spelling, and capitalization. (N.B. For the first, third, and fourth letters, the text of B in each case seems to have been followed.) There are no textual changes of any importance, and it is unlikely that Swift himself was in any way connected with it.

It had been announced in the *Dublin Journal* already on July 3, price 18d., 2s. for subscribers, bound; but was not published till Oct. 2. Faulkner had wished to dedicate it to Lord Midleton, as shown by the following letter, dated Sept. 20, 1725:

My Lord

You have so signally interested yourself in asserting the dying liberty of your country, that to offer the following papers to any other, would be the greatest injustice I could possibly be guilty of to your Lordship's character, which must attend the fame of the greatest sovereigns that have adorned the British throne through the memoirs of futurity.

But among all the great actions of your Lordship's life, your late conduct in the affair of the copper Half-pence justly demands the nation's thanks; and in my humble opinion, the Drapier himself would have been entirely silent in that affair had he not had so glorious an example as your Lordship to follow, whose every action testifies to the world that your greatest glory is in being what the ancient Romans so ardently desired—a *pater patriae* etc.

O'Flanagan adds: 'The following endorsement on this letter, which is among the papers of Lord Midleton, kindly copied for me by the Hon. William Broderick, M.P., shows the fate of the application:—"This paper was left at my house in my absence, on September 20, and brought to me by one of my servants while I was at dinner, in the presence of my son, Mr Wall, and Mr Stabury. I ordered the servant to tell the man who left it I could not by any means consent to the dedication of the Drapier to me, and if done, would complain of the printer"' (*Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, ii. 34).

Swift presented a copy of *Fraud Detected* to the Bodleian, containing the following inscription, undated, written in his own hand on the recto of the first blank leaf at the beginning of the volume.

'Humbly presented
to the Bodleyan Library
in Oxford
by M. B. Drapier'

Copies: Bod.; B.M.; T.C.D.; Forster; Goldsmiths; Gilbert; Bradshaw (2); Y.C.L.; H.C.L.; Seligman.

II. 1730. *The Hibernian Patriot*. (London.)

Title: *The Hibernian Patriot*: / Being a COLLECTION of the / DRAPIER'S / LETTERS / TO THE / PEOPLE of IRELAND, / CONCERNING / Mr. WOOD's Brass Half-Pence. / Together with / CONSIDERATIONS / ON THE / ATTEMPTS made to pass that COIN. / AND / REASONS for the People of IRELAND's / refusing it. / To which are added, POEMS and SONGS / relating to the same Subject. / [Rule] /

*O thou, whatever Title please thine Ear,
Dean, Drapier, Bickerstaff, or Gulliver?
Whether thou chuse Cervantes' serious Air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais easy Chair,
Or praise the Court, or magnify Mankind,
Or thy griev'd Countrey's Copper Chains unbind,
From thy Bæotia tho' her Pow'r retires,
Grieve not, my swift, at ought our Realm acquires.*

DUNCIAD.

/ [Rule] / Printed at DUBLIN. / LONDON: / Reprinted and Sold by A. Moor in St. Paul's Church-yard, / and the Booksellers of London and Westminster, / MDCCLXXX.

Collation: 8vo. One unsigned leaf, A³, B–R⁸, S⁴. 136 leaves. First four leaves unpagcd, pp. [1]–264. 19.2–19.6 cm.

Contents: [?]a title; [?]b blank; A1a–A3b preface; B1a title of Letter I; B1b blank; B2a–B3a Address of Commons; B3b–B4a Address of Lords; B4b King's Answer; B5a–C5b text of Letter I; C6a title of Letter II; C6b blank; C7a–E1a text of Report of Committee &c.; E1b–F2b text of Letter II; F3a title of Letter III; F3b blank; F4a–H8b text of Letter III; I1a title of Letter IV; I1b blank; I2a–K8a text of Letter IV; K8b–L3a Seasonable Advice; L3b An Extract &c.; L4a title of Letter V; L4b blank; L5a–L6b Directions to the Printer; L7a–N2b text of Letter V; N3a title of Some Considerations; N3b blank; N4a–O2b text of Some Considerations; O3a title of Some Reasons; O3b blank; O4a dedication to Lord Middleton; O4b–R2a text of Some Reasons; R2b–R4a Report of the Assay; R4b–R6a Prometheus; R6b–R7a Verses to the Drapier; R7b–S4a Five Songs of the Drapier's Club; S4b Drapier's Hill.

Notes: This is a reprint from the text of *Fraud Detected* and

contains no alterations of any importance. The series of headpieces used on pages 3, 9, 254, and repeated elsewhere in the volume belong to the same set as was used in Faulkner's edition of *Swift's Works* (1735). But the other ornaments, initials, and type are unlike those used by Faulkner at this time, and indicate that the book was probably printed in London. There is a beautiful copy of this edition in the Goldsmiths' Library, which belonged to Lady Acheson. On p. 264 the following couplet (written in ink by a contemporary hand) has been inserted after l. 14 of *Drapier's Hill*:

No Drapier's head in ev'ry street,
Where honest Clubs were us'd to meet:

Copies: Goldsmiths; B.M.; Forster; Bod.; Bradshaw; T.C.D.; Haliday; Seligman; Y.C.L.; H.C.L.

III. 1735. *Swift's Works in Four Volumes.* (Dublin.)

A. First Issue.

Title: VOLUME IV. / Of the AUTHOR's / WORKS. / CONTAINING, / A Collection of TRACTS relating to / *Ireland*; among which are, The / *Drapier's Letters* to the People of / *Ireland*, against receiving *Wood's* / Half-pence: Also, two Original / *Drapier's Letters*, never before / published. / [Double Rule] / [Ornament] / [Double Rule] / DUBLIN: / Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, Printer / and Bookseller, in *Essex-Street*, opposite to the / Bridge. MDCXXXV.

Collation: 8vo. [A]⁴, B-Z⁸, Aa-Bb⁸, Cc². 200 leaves; first five leaves unpagcd; pp. [i]-ii, [1]-[60], 65-388. 20 cm.

Contents: A1a title; A1b blank; A2a-A2b Advertisement; A3a-A4b Contents; B1a title of A Letter from a Member &c.; B1b blank; B2a-B2b Publisher's Advertisement; B3a-C4b text of A Letter from a Member &c.; C5a title of A Proposal &c.; C5b blank; C6a-D3a text of A Proposal &c.; D3b blank; D4a title of Some Arguments &c.; D4b blank; D5a-E7b text of Some Arguments &c.; E8a title of Letter I; E8b blank; F1a-F8a text of Letter I; F8b-G7b text of Letter II; G8a-I8a text of Letter III; I8b-L3b text of Letter IV; L4a-L5a Presentment; L5a-L7a Seasonable Advice; L7b Extract; L8a title of Letter V; L8b-M1b Directions to the Printer; M2a-N3b text of Letter V; N4a-N5a Advertisement; N5b-P1a text of Letter VI; P1b-R1b text of Letter VII; R2a-R5a An Account of Wood's Execution; R5b-Bb7a other tracts; Bb7b-Bb8b Verses; Cc1a-Cc2b Prometheus.

Frontispiece: facing title—an allegorical portrait of Swift by Vertue (see facsimile used as frontispiece to this volume).

Notes: Although the title-page of the first volume ascribes the authorship of the *Works* to J.S.D.D. D.S.P.D., Swift's name and title are given in full in the verses to him and by him on pp. 382-4 of this fourth volume.

There is a mistake in the numbering of the pages—p. 60 being immediately followed by p. 65. In the numbering of p. 112, the first 1 seems to have fallen out, leaving in some copies the impression of 12 distorted, as if the type were loose; p. 255 is misnumbered 155, and in the numbering of p. 346 the 6 is reversed. There are misprints, e.g. p. 190, l. 16, 'delcare'; p. 193, l. 7, 'Ireland'; p. 387, l. 8, 'let it it pass'.

Copies: Bod.; Bradshaw; N.L.D. (Joly); H.C.L.

B. Second Issue.

Title, &c.: the same as A.

Notes: The text and pagination is identical with A, except for the following addition on p. 184, and minor alterations (given in the footnotes to the text, pp. 123-8, below) all occurring on the same form.

In the *Advertisement to the Reader*, p. 184, l. 4, after the words 'to make the Volume more compleat', B has 'I procured a Copy of the following Letter from one of the Author's Friends, with whom it was left, while the Author was in England; and'. The last four lines of p. 184 (in A) are then carried over to the top of p. 185, leaving only just room for the end-piece at the foot of the page.

There are also two corrections in *Letter V*, given in the footnotes to the text, p. 113, below.

In some copies of B there is a different head-piece on p. 65, at the beginning of *Letter I*—the one found in A, belonging to a set used throughout these four volumes and for *The Hibernian Patriot*, being replaced by one evidently designed for the *Drapier's Letters*. It represents Swift turning from Britannia to minister to the miseries of Hibernia, to whom he offers a cup from which hangs a scroll inscribed DETUR INDIGENTI. The two figures are drawn to represent the appearance of the 'Genius of England' and her unhappy neighbour as they are described in the beginning of *Tom Punsibi's Dream*. (See below, pp. 298-9.)

Copies: B.M.; T.C.D. (2); Forster; Y.C.L.

(N.B. There is also a copy of this issue, with the imprint 1763, included as volume iv of the *Collected Works* (Dublin 1763) in the Gilbert Collection.)

C. Another Edition in Duodecimo.

Title: VOLUME IV. / Of the Author's / WORKS. / Containing / A Collection of TRACTS rela-/ting to *Ireland*; among which / are, The *Drapier's Letters* to / the People of *Ireland*, against / receiving *Wood's* Half-pence: / Also, two Original *Drapier's* / Letters, never before pub-/lished. / [Two double Rules] / DUBLIN: / Printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER, / Printer and Bookseller, in *Essex-Street*, / oppo- site to the Bridge. MDCCXXXV.

Collation: 12mo. [?]⁴, A-Dd⁶. pp. [i]-ii, 1-318.

Contents: [?]^{1a} title; [?]^{1b} blank; [?]^{2a-b} Advertisement; [?]^{3a-4b} contents; A1a-Dd6b text. (Frontispiece facing title, reduced from A.)

Notes: This edition has no textual value. It is evidently a reprint of B, carelessly set up and badly corrected.

Copy: T.C.D.

IV. 1735. D. MISCELLANIES, Fifth Volume (London). [Second Issue.]

Title: MISCELLANIES, / In Prose and Verse. / VOLUME the FIFTH. / [Rule] / Which with the other Volumes already pub-/lished in *England*, compleats this Author's / Works. [Rule] / [Ornament] / [Double Rule] / LONDON: / Printed for CHARLES DAVIS, in *Pater-noster* / Row. MDCCXXXV.

Collation: 8vo. A⁴, B-N⁸, O⁴, [O³], [O⁴], O⁵-O⁸, P-Z⁸, Aa-Hh⁸. pp. [viii]+480 (not counting additional leaves [197]-[200]).

Contents: [A]^{1a} blank; [A]^{1b} Advertisement; [A]^{2a} title; [A]^{2b} blank; [A]^{3a-4b} contents; B1a-O4b Poems on several Occasions; O5a-P3a text of A Proposal &c.; P3b-Q8b text of Some Arguments &c.; R1a-S7a Drapier Letter VI; S7b-X3b Drapier Letter VII; X3b-X7b An Account of Wood's Execution; X8a-Ee8b other pamphlets; Ff-Hh⁸ additional verses.

Notes: The text of the later letters, &c., in this volume is evidently set up from Faulkner's Fourth Volume, though his *Advertisement* to the Reader (pp. 183-5), a necessary introduction to Letters VI and VII, is not reprinted. Instead, facing the title, is the following Advertisement:

'As most of this Author's Writings have been already published in the *Drapier's Letters*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and the four Volumes of

Miscellanies printed for Messieurs *Motte* and *Gilliver*, it would have been injurious to the *English* Buyer, as well as Proprietor, to have reprinted here the *Dublin* Edition of his Works. We are therefore only to assure Both, that this Volume consists of such Pieces as are NOT in the forementioned Volumes, but contains every thing in the *Dublin* Edition besides.'

The one or two slight changes introduced into this text do not appear in the later English editions of the sixth and seventh letters. When these letters were republished in vol. vi of the *Miscellanies*, published by Davis and Bathurst in 1745, the text was set up from a copy of Faulkner's Fourth Volume.

Copies: B.M.; H.C.L.

A
L E T T E R
T O T H E

*Shop-Keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers,
and Common-People of IRELAND,*

Concerning the

Brass Half-Pence

Coined by

Mr. **Woods,**

W I T H

A DESIGN to have them Pass in this
K I N G D O M.

Wherein is shewn the Power of the said PATENT,
the Value of the HALF-PENCE, and how far every Person
may be oblig'd to take the same in Payments, and how
to behave in Case such an Attempt shou'd be made by
WOODS or any other Person.

[Very Proper to be kept in every F A M I L Y.]

By M. B. Drapier.

Dublin: Printed by J. Harding in Molesworth's-
Court.

To the *Tradesmen, Shop-Keepers, Farmers,* and
Common-People in General, of the Kingdom
of IRELAND.

Brethren, Friends, Countrymen and Fellow Subjects,

WHAT I intend now to say to you, is, next to your Duty to God, and the Care of your Salvation, of the greatest Concern to your selves, and your Children, your *Bread and Cloathing*, and every common Necessary of Life entirely depend upon it. Therefore I do most
10 earnestly exhort you as *Men*, as *Christians*, as *Parents*, and as *Lovers of your Country*, to read this Paper with the utmost Attention, or get it read to you by others; which that you may do at the less Expence, I have ordered the Printer to sell it at the lowest Rate.

It is a great Fault among you, that when a Person writes with no other Intention than *to do you Good*, you will not be at the Pains to Read his Advices: One Copy of this Paper may serve a Dozen of you, which will be less than a Farthing a-piece. It is your Folly that you have
20 no common or general Interest in your View, not even the Wisest among you, neither do you know or enquire, or care who are your Friends, or who are your Enemies.

About three Years ago, a little Book was written, to advise all People to wear the **Manufactures of this our own Dear Country*: It had no other Design, said nothing against the *King or Parliament*, or *any Man*, yet the POOR PRINTER was prosecuted two Years, with the utmost Violence, and even some WEAVERS themselves, for whose Sake it was written, being upon the
30 JURY, FOUND HIM GUILTY. This would be

2 *Common-People*] *Country-People* '35 7 *Children*,] *Children*;
'30, '35 23 *three*] *four* '25, '30, '35 26 *Man*,] *Person*
whatsoever, '35

* Vide one of the preceding for the Use of Irish Manufactures.
Pamphlets, entitled, A Proposal '35

enough to discourage any Man from endeavouring to do you Good, when you will either neglect him or fly in his Face for his Pains, and when he must expect only *Danger to himself* and *Loss of Money*, perhaps to his Ruin.

However I cannot but warn you once more of the manifest Destruction before your Eyes, if you do not behave your selves as you ought.

I will therefore first tell you the *plain Story of the Fact*; and then I will lay before you how you ought to ¹⁰ act in common Prudence, and according to the *Laws of your Country*.

The Fact is thus, It having been many Years since COPPER HALF-PENCE or FARTHINGs were last Coined in this *Kingdom*, they have been for some time very scarce, and many *Counterfeits* passed about under the Name of RAPS, several Applications were made to *England*, that we might have Liberty to *Coin New ones*, as in former times we did; but they did not succeed. At last one Mr. WOODS *a mean ordinary* ²⁰ *Man, a Hard-Ware Dealer*, procured a *Patent* under His MAJESTIES BROAD SEAL to Coin FOURSCORE AND TEN THOUSAND POUNDS in *Copper* for this *Kingdom*, which Patent however did not oblige any one here to take them, unless they pleased. Now you must know, that the HALF-PENCE and FARTHINGs in *England* pass for very little more than they are worth. And if you should beat them to Pieces, and sell them to the *Brazier* you would not lose above a Penny in a Shilling. But Mr. WOODS ³⁰ made his HALF-PENCE of such *Base Metal*, and so much smaller than the *English* ones, that the *Brazier*

4 *Loss of Money*,] to be fined and imprisoned, '35 17 RAPS,]
RAPS: '30, '35 20 WOODS] WOOD '25, '30, '35 (*and throughout*
this Letter) 22-3 FOURSORE AND TEN THOUSAND
POUNDS] 108000 l. '35 30 lose above] lose much above, '35

would not give you above a *Penny* of good Money for a *Shilling* of his; so that this Sum of *Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds* in good Gold and Silver, must be given for TRASH that will not be worth above *Eight* or *Nine Thousand Pounds* real Value. But this is not the Worst, for Mr. WOODS when he pleases may by Stealth send over *another and another Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds*, and buy all our Goods for *Eleven Parts in Twelve*, under the Value. For Example, if
 10 a Hatter sells a Dozen of Hatts for *Five Shillings* a-piece, which amounts to *Three Pounds*, and receives the Payment in Mr. WOODS's Coin, he really receives only the Value of *Five Shillings*.

Perhaps you will wonder how such an *ordinary Fellow* as this Mr. WOODS could have so much Interest as to get his MAJESTIES Broad Seal for so great a Sum of bad Money, to be sent to this Poor Country, and that all the *Nobility* and *Gentry* here could not obtain the same Favour, and let us make our own *Half-pence*,
 20 as we used to do. Now I will make that Matter very Plain. We are at a great Distance from the *King's Court*, and have no body there to sollicite for us, although a great Number of *Lords* and *Squires*, whose Estates are here, and are our Countrymen, spend all their *Lives* and *Fortunes* there. But this same Mr. WOODS was able to attend constantly for his own Interest; he is an ENGLISH MAN and had GREAT FRIENDS, and it seems knew very well *where to give Money*, to those that would speak to OTHERS that could speak to the
 30 KING and could tell A FAIR STORY. And HIS MAJESTY, and perhaps the great Lord or Lords who

1 would not give] would hardly give '35 2-3 *Fourscore*
 and *Ten Thousand Pounds*] 108000 l. '35 7-8 *another* and
another Fourscore and Ten Thousand Pounds,] *another* 108000 l. '35
 24 spend] The text B has 'spending', a misprint repeated in '25. A had
 'spend' which was restored in '30 and '35. 30 could] would '35

advised him, might think it was for our *Country's Good*; and so, as the Lawyers express it, the KING was deceived in his Grant, which often happens in *all Reigns*. And I am sure if his MAJESTY knew that such a Patent, if it should take Effect according to the Desire of Mr. WOODS, would utterly Ruin this Kingdom, which hath given such great Proofs of it's *Loyalty*, he would immediately recall it, and perhaps shew his Displeasure to SOME BODY OR OTHER, *But a Word to the Wise is enough*. Most of you must have heard, 10 with what Anger our *Honourable House of Commons* received an Account of this WOODS's PATENT. There were several *Fine Speeches* made upon it, and plain Proofs that it was all A WICKED CHEAT from the *Bottom to the Top*, and several *Smart Votes* were printed, which that same WOODS had the assurance to answer likewise in *Print*, and in so confident a Way, as if he were *A better Man than Our whole Parliament* put together.

This WOODS, as soon as his *Patent* was passed, or 20 soon after, sends over a great many *Barrels of these HALF-PENCE*, to *Cork* and other *Seaport Towns*, and to get them off offered an *Hundred Pounds* in his *Coin* for *Seventy* or *Eighty* in *Silver*; But the *Collectors* of the KING's Customs very honestly refused to take them, and so did almost every body else. And since the *Parliament* hath condemned them, and desired the KING that they might be stopped, all the *Kingdom* do abominate them.

But WOODS is still working *under hand* to force 30 his *HALF-PENCE* upon us, and if he can by help of his *Friends* in *England* prevail so far as to get an Order that the *Commissioners* and *Collectors* of the KING's Money shall Receive them, and that the *ARMY* is to be paid with them, then he thinks *his Work shall be done*.

And this is the Difficulty you will be under in such a Case. For the common Soldier when he goes to the Market or Ale-house will offer this Money, and if it be refused, perhaps he will SWAGGER and HECTOR, and Threaten to Beat the BUTCHER or Ale-Wife, or take the Goods by Force, and throw them the bad HALF-PENCE. In this and the like Cases, the Shop-keeper, or Victualer, or any other Tradesmen has no more to do, than to demand ten times the Price of his Goods, 10 if it is to be paid in WOODS's Money; for Example, Twenty Pence of that Money for A QUART OF ALE, and so in all things else, and not part with his Goods till he gets the Money.

For suppose you go to an ALE-HOUSE with that base Money, and the Landlord gives you a Quart for Four of these HALF-PENCE, what must the Victualer do? His BREWER will not be paid in that Coin, or if the BREWER should be such a Fool, the Farmers will not take it from them for their *Bere, be- 20 cause they are bound by their Leases to pay their Rents in Good and Lawful Money of England, which this is not, nor of Ireland neither, and the 'Squire their Landlord will never be so bewitched to take such Trash for his Land, so that it must certainly stop some where or other, and wherever it stops it is the same thing, and we are all undone.

The common weight of these HALF-PENCE are between Four and Five to an Ounce, suppose Five, then three Shillings and Four Pence will weigh a Pound, and 30 consequently Twenty Shillings will weigh Six Pound Butter Weight. Now there are many Hundred Farmers who pay Two Hundred Pound a Year Rent. Therefore when one of these Farmers comes with his Half

27 are] is '30, '35 30 Pound] Pounds '25, '30, '35 32
Pound] Pounds '35

* A sort of Barley in Ireland. '35

Years Rent, which is one Hundred Pound, it will be at least Six Hundred Pound weight, which is Three Horse Load.

If a 'Squire has a mind to come to Town to buy Cloaths and Wine and Spices for himself and Family, or perhaps to pass the Winter here; he must bring with him Five or Six Horses loaden with *Sacks* as the Farmers bring their Corn; and when his Lady comes in her Coach to our Shops, it must be followed by a Car loaden with Mr. WOODS's Money. And I hope we ¹⁰ shall have the Grace to take it for no more than it is worth.

They say 'SQUIRE C——Y has *Sixteen Thousand Pounds a Year*, now if he sends for his *Rent* to Town, as it is likely he does, he must have *Two Hundred and Forty Horses* to bring up his *Half Years Rent*, and *Two or Three great Cellars* in his House for Stowage. But what the Bankers will do I cannot tell. For I am assured, that some great Bankers keep by them *Forty Thousand Pounds* in ready Cash to answer all Payments, which Sum, in Mr. WOODS's Money, would require ²⁰ Twelve Hundred Horses to carry it.

For my own Part, I am already resolved what to do; I have a pretty good Shop of *Irish Stuffs* and *Silks*, and instead of taking Mr. WOODS's bad Copper, I intend to Truck with my Neighbours the BUTCHERS, and Bakers, and Brewers, and the rest, *Goods for Goods*, and the little *Gold* and *Silver* I have, I will keep by me like my *Heart's Blood* till better Times, or till I am just ready to starve, and then I will buy Mr. WOODS's Money as my Father did the Brass Money in K. JAMES's ³⁰ Time, who could buy *Ten Pound* of it with a *Guinea*, and I hope to get as much for a *Pistole*, and so purchase *Bread* from those who will be such Fools as to sell it me.

3 Horse] Horses '25, '30, '35 10 loaden] loaded '25, '30, '35
 12 'SQUIRE C——Y] SQUIRE CONOLLY '30, '35 14 Forty]
 Fifty '25, '30, '35 28 or till] or until '35

These HALF-PENCE, if they once pass, will soon be COUNTERFEIT, because it may be cheaply done, the *Stuff* is so *Base*. The DUTCH likewise will probably do the same thing, and send them over to us to pay for our *Goods*. And Mr. WOODS will never be at rest but coin on: So that in some Years we shall have at least five Times Four Score and Ten Thousand Pounds of this *Lumber*. Now the Current Money of this Kingdom is not reckoned to be above *Four Hundred*
 10 *Thousand Pounds in all*, and while there is a *Silver Sixpence* left these BLOOD-SUCKERS will never be quiet.

VWhen once the *Kingdom* is reduced to such a Condition, I will tell you what must be the End: The *Gentlemen of Estates* will all turn off their *Tenants* for want of Payment, because as I told you before, the *Tenants* are obliged by their Leases to pay *Sterling* which is Lawful Current Money of *England*, then they will
 20 turn their own *Farmers*, AS TOO MANY OF THEM DO ALREADY, Run *all* into *Sheep* where they can, keeping only such other *Cattle* as are necessary, then they will be their own *Merchants* and send their *Wooll* and *Butter* and *Hydes* and *Linnen* beyond Sea for ready *Money* and *Wine* and *Spices* and *Silks*. They will keep only a few miserable *Cottiers*. The *Farmers* must *Rob* or *Beg*, or leave their *Country*. The *Shop-keepers* in this and every other *Town*, must *Break* and *Starve*: For it is the *Landed-man* that maintains the *Merchant*, and *Shop-keeper*, and *Handycrafts Man*.

30 But when the *'Squire* turns *Farmer* and *Merchant* himself, all the good Money he gets from abroad, he will hoard up or send for *England*, and keep some poor *Taylor* or *Weaver* and the like in his own House, who will be glad to get Bread at any Rate.

7 Four Score and Ten Thousand Pounds] 108000 *l.* '35 25
 Cottiers.] Cottagers. '35 32 or send] to send '25, '30, '35

I should never have done if I were to tell you all the Miseries that we shall undergo if we be so *Foolish* and *Wicked* as to take this CURSED COYN. It would be very hard if all *Ireland* should be put into *One Scale*, and *this sorry Fellow WOODS* into the other, that Mr. WOODS should weigh down *this whole Kingdom*, by which *England* gets above a Million of good Money every Year clear into their *Pockets*, and that is more than the *English* do by *all the World besides*.

But your great Comfort is, that as his MAJESTIES ¹⁰ Patent does not oblige you to take this Money, so the Laws have not given the Crown a Power of forcing the Subjects to take what Money the KING pleases: For then by the same Reason we might be bound to take PEBBLE-STONES or Cockle-shells, or Stamped Leather for Current Coin, if ever we should happen to live under an ill PRINCE, who might likewise by the same Power make a Guinea pass for Ten Pounds, a Shilling for Twenty Shillings, and so on, by which he would in a short Time get all the Silver and Gold of the Kingdom ²⁰ into his own Hands, and leave us nothing but Brass or Leather or what he pleased. Neither is any Thing reckoned more Cruel or Oppressive in the French Government than their common Practice of calling in all their Money after they have sunk it very low, and then coining it a New at a much higher Value, which however is not the Thousand Part so wicked as this *abominable Project* of Mr. WOODS. For the French give their Subjects Silver for Silver and Gold for Gold, but *this Fellow* will not so much as give us good Brass or Copper ³⁰ for our Gold and Silver, nor even a Twelfth Part of their Worth.

Having said thus much, I will now go on to tell you the Judgments of some great Lawyers in this Matter, whom I fee'd on purpose for your Sakes, and got their

Opinions under their *Hands*, that I might be sure I went upon good Grounds.

A Famous Law-Book, call'd the Mirrour of Justice, discoursing of the Articles (or Laws) ordained by our Antient Kings declares the Law to be as follows: It was ordained that no King of this Realm should Change, Impair or Amend the Money or make any other Money than of Gold or Silver without the Assent of all the Counties, that is, as my Lord Coke says, without the
 2 *Inst.* 576.
 10 *Assent of Parliament.*

This Book is very Antient, and of great Authority for the Time in which it was wrote, and with that Character is often quoted by that great Lawyer my Lord Coke. By the Law of Eng-
 2 *Inst.* 576. 7.
 land, the several Metals are divided into *Lawful* or *true Metal* and *unlawful* or *false Metal*, the Former comprehends *Silver* or *Gold*; the Latter all *Baser Metals*: That the Former is only to pass in Payments appears by an Act of *Parliament* made the Twentieth Year of *Edward the First*,
 2 *Inst.* 577.
 called the *Statute concerning the Passing of Pence*, which I give you here as I got it translated into English, for some of our *Laws* at that Time, were, as I am told writ in *Latin*: *Whoever in Buying or Selling presumeth to refuse an Half-penny or Farthing of Lawful Money, bearing the Stamp which it ought to have, let him be seized on as a Contemner of the King's Majesty, and cast into Prison.*

By this *Statute*, no Person is to be reckoned a Con-
 30 *temner* of the *KING'S Majesty*, and for that Crime to be committed to *Prison*; but he who refuses to accept the *KING'S Coin* made of *Lawful Metal*, by which, as I observed before, *Silver* and *Gold* only are intended.

4 *Articles*] *Charters* '35
 14 *Law*] *Laws* '25, '30, '35
 several '30, '35

6-7 *Impair or Amend*] or *Impair* '35
 15 the several] and several '25

That this is the true *Construction* of the *Act*, appears not only from the plain *Meaning* of the *Words*, but from my Lord *Coke's* *Observation* upon it. By this *Act* (says he) it appears, that no *Subject* can be forc'd to take in *Buying* or *Selling* or other *Payments*, any *Money* made but of *Lawful Metal*; that is, of *Silver* or *Gold*.

The *Law* of *England* gives the *KING* all *Mines* of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not the *Mines* of other *Metals*, the *Reason* of which *Prerogative* or *Power*, as it is given by my Lord *Coke* is, because *Money* can be made of *Gold* and *Silver*, but not of other *Metals*.

Pursuant to this *Opinion* *Half-pence* and *Farthings* were antiently made of *Silver*, which is most evident from the *Act* of *Parliament* of *Henry* the 4th. *Chap.* 4. by which it is enacted as follows: *Item, for the great Scarcity that is at present within the Realm of England of Half-pence and Farthings of Silver, it is ordained and established that the Third Part of all the Money of Silver Plate which shall be brought to the Bullion, shall be made in Half-pence and Farthings. This shews that by the Word Half-penny and Farthing of Lawful Money in that Statute concerning the Passing of Pence, are meant a small Coin in Half-pence and Farthings of Silver.*

This is further manifest from the *Statute* of the *Ninth Year* of *Edward* the 3d. *Chap.* 3. which Enacts, *That no Sterling HALF-PENNY or FARTHING be Molten for to make Vessel, nor any other thing by the Gold-smiths, nor others, upon Forfeiture of the Money so molten (or melted.)*

By another *Act* in this *King's* *Reign* *Black Money* was not to be current in *England*, and by an *Act* made in the *Eleventh Year* of his *Reign* *Chap.* 5. *Galley*

15 most evident] more evident '25, '30 evident '35 17 by which] whereby '35 24 are] is '30, '35 29 Vessel, nor] Vessel, or '25, '30 Vessels, or '35

Half-pence were not to pass, what kind of *Coin* these were I do not know, but I presume they were made of *Base Metal*, and that these Acts were no *New Laws*, but farther Declarations of the old *Laws* relating to the *Coin*.

Thus the *Law* stands in Relation to *Coin*, nor is there any Example to the contrary, except one in *Davis's Reports*, who tells us that in the time of *Tyrone's* Rebellion *QUEEN ELIZABETH* ordered *Money of*
 10 *Mixt Metal* to be Coined in the *Tower of London*, and sent over hither for Payment of the *ARMY*, obliging all People to receive it and Commanding that all Silver Money should be taken only as *Bullion*, that is, for as much as it weighed. *Davis* tells us several Particulars in this Matter too long here to trouble you with, and that the *Privy-Council* of this *Kingdom* obliged a *Merchant* in *England* to receive this mixt Money for Goods transmitted hither.

But this Proceeding is rejected by all the best
 20 Lawyers as contrary to Law, the *Privy-Council* here having no such Power. And besides it is to be considered, that the *Queen* was then under great Difficulties by a Rebellion in this *Kingdom* assisted from *Spain*, and whatever is done in great Exigences and Dangerous Times should never be an Example to proceed by in Seasons of *Peace* and *Quietness*.

I will now, my Dear Friends to save you the Trouble, set before you in short, what the *Law* obliges you to do, and what it does *not* oblige you to.

30 First, you are oblig'd to take all Money in Payments which is coin'd by the *KING* and is of the *English* Standard or Weight, provided it be of *Gold* or *Silver*.

Secondly, you are not obliged to take any Money

3 *Metal*, and that] *Metal*. And '35 4 farther] further '25,
 '30, '35 21 such Power] such legal Power '35 23 *Spain*,
 and] *Spain*. And, '35 27 Friends] Friends, '30, '35

which is not of *Gold* or *Silver*, no not the HALF-PENCE, or FARTHINGs of *England*, or of any other Country, and it is only for Convenience, or Ease, that you are content to take them, because the Custom of Coining *Silver HALF-PENCE* & *FARTHINGs* hath long been left off, I will suppose on Account of their being subject to be lost.

Thirdly, much less are you obliged to take those *Vile Half-Pence* of that same WOODS, by which you must lose almost Eleven-Pence in every Shilling. 10

Therefore my *Friends*, stand to it One and All, refuse this *Filthy Trash*; It is no Treason to Rebel against Mr. WOODS, His MAJESTY in his Patent obliges no body to take these Half-Pence, our GRACIOUS PRINCE hath no so ill Advisers about him; or if he had, yet you see the Laws have not left it in the KING's Power, to force us to take any Coin but what is Lawful, of right Standard *Gold* and *Silver*, therefore you have nothing to fear. 10

And let me in the next Place apply my self particularly to you who are the poor Sort of *Tradesmen*, perhaps you may think you will not be so great Losers as the Rich, if these *Half-Pence* should pass, because you seldom see any *Silver*, and your *Customers* come to your *Shops* or *Stalls* with nothing but Brass, which you likewise find hard to be got, but you may take my Word, whenever this Money gains Footing among you you will be utterly undone; if you carry these *Half-Pence* to a Shop for *Tobacco* or *Brandy*, or any other Thing you want, the *Shop-keeper* will advance his Goods accordingly, 20 or else he must break, and leave the *Key under the Door*. Do you think I will sell you a Yard of ten-penny Stuff

1-2 no not . . . or of] not only . . . or of '25, '30 not only . . .
but of '35 3 only] merely '35 6 I will suppose] I suppose, '35 8 you] we '25, '30, '35 15 so] such '35 21 poor] poorer '35

for Twenty of Mr. WOODS's *Half-Pence*, no, not under Two hundred at least, neither will I be at the Trouble of counting, but weigh them in a Lump; I will tell you one Thing further, that if Mr. WOODS's Project should take, it will ruin even our Beggars, For when I give a *Beggar* an half-penny, it will quench his Thirst, or go a good way to fill his Belly, but the Twelfth Part of a Half-penny will do him no more Service than if I should give him three Pins out of my Sleeve.

10 *In short these HALF-PENCE are like the accursed Thing, which as the Scripture tells us, the Children of Israel were forbidden to touch, they will run about like the Plague and destroy every one who lays his Hands upon them. I have heard Scholars talk of a Man who told a King that he had invented a Way to torment People by putting them into a Bull of Brass with Fire under it, but the Prince put the Projector first into his own Brazen Bull to make the Experiment; this very much resembles the Project of Mr. WOODS, and the like of this may possibly*
20 *be Mr. WOODS's Fate, that the Brass he contrived to torment this Kingdom with, may prove his own Torment, and his Destruction at last.*

N.B. The AUTHOR of this Paper is informed by Persons who have made their Business to be exact in their Observations on the true Value of these HALF-PENCE that any Person may expect to get a Quart of Two Penny Ale for Thirty-six of them.

I desire all Persons may keep this Paper carefully by them to Refresh their Memories whenever they shall
30 have farther Notice of Mr. WOODS's Half-Pence, or any other the like Imposture.

FINIS.

5 Beggars,] Beggars: '30, '35 15 a King] the King '35 24
made their] made it their '30, '35 28 all Persons] that all
Families '35

A
LETTER
TO

Mr. *Harding* the Printer,

Upon Occasion of a

PARAGRAPH

IN HIS

News - Paper
of *Aug. 1st.*

Relating to Mr. *Wood's* Half-Pence.

By M. B. *Drapier.*

AUTHOR of the LETTER to the
SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.

D U B L I N :

Printed by *John Harding* in *Molej-*
worth's-Court in *Fishamble-Street.*

A LETTER, &c.

SIR,

- I**N your News-Letter of the 1st. Instant there is a Paragraph Dated from *London*, July 25th. relating to *Woods's* Half-pence; whereby it is plain what I foretold in my *Letter to the Shop-keepers*, &c. that this vile Fellow would never be at Rest, and that the Danger of our Ruin approaches nearer, and therefore the Kingdom requires NEW and FRESH WARNING; however
- 10 I take that Paragraph to be, in a great Measure, an Imposition upon the Publick, at least I hope so, because I am informed that *Woods* is generally his own News Writer. I cannot but observe from that Paragraph that this Publick Enemy of ours, not satisfied to Ruin us with his Trash, takes every Occasion to treat this Kingdom with the utmost Contempt. He Represents *Several of our Merchants and Traders upon Examination before a Committee of a Council, agreeing that there was the utmost Necessity of Copper-Money here, before his*
- 20 *Patent, so that several Gentlemen have been forced to Tally with their Workmen and give them Bits of Cards Sealed and Subscribed with their Names.* What then? If a Physician prescribes to a Patient a *Dram* of Physick, shall a Rascal Apothecary Cram him with a *Pound*, and mix it up with *Poyson*? And is not a Landlord's Hand and Seal to his own Labourers a better Security for Five or Ten Shillings, than *Woods's* Brass Seven Times below the Real Value, can be to the Kingdom, for an Hundred and Four thousand Pounds?
- 30 But who are these *Merchants and Traders of Ireland* that make this Report of *the utmost Necessity we are under of Copper-Money*? They are only a few Betrayers

2 SIR,] omitted '30, '35 18 of a Council,] of Council, '35
23 prescribes] prescribe '25, '30, '35 27 Seven Times] Ten
Times '35 29 Four thousand] Eight Thousand '35 32 of]
for '35

of their Country, Confederates with *Woods*, from whom they are to purchase a great Quantity of his Coyn, perhaps at half Value, and Vend it among us to the Ruin of the Publick, and their own private Advantage. Are not these excellent Witnesses, upon whose Integrity the Fate of a Kingdom must depend, who are Evidences in their own Cause, and Sharers in this Work of Iniquity?

If we could have deserved the Liberty of Coyning for our selves, as we formerly did, and why we have ¹⁰ not *is every Body's Wonder as well as mine*. Ten thousand Pounds might have been Coyned here in *Dublin* of only one Fifth below the Intrinsick Value, and this Sum, with the Stock of Half-pence we then had, would have been sufficient: But *Woods* by his Emissaries, Enemies to God and this Kingdom, hath taken Care to Buy up as many of our old Half-pence as he could, and from thence the present Want of Change arises; to remove which, by Mr. *Woods* his Remedy, would be, to Cure a Scratch on the Finger by Cutting off the Arm. ²⁰ But supposing there were not one Farthing of Change in the whole Nation, I will maintain, that Five and Twenty Thousand Pounds would be a Sum fully sufficient to answer all our Occasions. I am no inconsiderable Shop-Keeper in this Town, I have discoursed with several of my own and other Trades, with many Gentlemen both of City and Country, and also with great Numbers of Farmers, Cottagers, and Labourers, who all agree that two Shillings in Change for every Family wou'd be more than necessary in all ³⁰ Dealings. Now by the largest Computation (even before that grievous Discouragement of *Agriculture*, which hath so much lessened our Numbers) the Souls

3 at half Value,] at half the Price that we are to take it, '35
 10-11 did, and . . . *mine*.] did, (and . . . *mine*) '30, '35 19 *Woods*
 his] *Wood's* '25, '30, '35

in this Kingdom are computed to be One Million and a half, which, allowing but Six to a Family, makes Two hundred and Fifty thousand Families, and consequently Two Shillings to each Family will amount only to Five and Twenty thousand Pounds, whereas this *Honest Liberal Hard-ware-Man Woods* would impose upon us above *Four Times* that Sum.

Your Paragraph relates further, that Sir *Isaac Newton* Reported an *Assay* taken at the *Tower of Woods's Metal*,
 10 by which it appears, that *Woods had in all Respects performed his Contract*. His Contract! With whom? Was it with the Parliament or People of *Ireland*? Are not they to be the Purchasers? But they Detest, Abhor, and Reject it, as Corrupt, Fraudulent, mingled with Dirt and Trash. Upon which he grows Angry, goes to Law, and will impose his Goods upon us by Force.

But your News-Letter says that an *Assay* was made of the Coyn. How impudent and insupportable is this? *Woods* takes Care to Coyn a Dozen or Two Half-pence
 20 of good Metal, sends them to the *Tower* and they are approved, and these must answer all that he hath already Coyned or shall Coyn for the Future. It is true indeed, that a Gentleman often sends to my Shop for a *Pattern* of Stuff, I cut it fairly off, and if he likes it, he comes or sends and compares the *Pattern* with the whole Piece, and probably we come to a Bargain. But if I were to Buy an Hundred Sheep, and the *Grazier* should bring me one single Weather fat and well Fleeced by Way of *Pattern*, and expect the same Price round for
 30 the whole Hundred, without suffering me to see them before he was payed, or giving me good Security to restore my Money for those that were *Lean* or *Shorn* or *Scabby*, I would be none of his Customer. I have heard of a Man who had a Mind to Sell his House, and therefore carried a Piece of *Brick* in his Pocket, which he

shewed as a *Pattern* to encourage Purchasers; And this is directly the Case in Point with Mr. *Woods's ASSAY*.

The next Part of the Paragraph contains Mr. *Woods's* voluntary Proposals for preventing any future Objections or Apprehensions.

His first Proposal is, that *whereas he hath already Coynd Seventeen thousand Pounds, and has Copper prepared to make it up Fourty thousand Pounds, he will be content to Coyn no more, unless the EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT, though his Patent empowers him* 10 *to Coyn a far greater Quantity.*

To which if I were to Answer it should be thus: Let Mr. *Woods* and his Crew of *Founders* and *Tinkers* Coyn on till there is not an old Kettle left in the Kingdom, let them Coyn old Leather, Tobacco-pipe Clay or the Dirt in the Streets, and call their Trumpery by what Name they please from a Guinea to a Farthing, we are not under any Concern to know how he and his Tribe or Accomplices think fit to employ themselves. But I hope and trust, that we are all to a Man fully determined 20 to have nothing to do with him or his Ware.

The King has given him a Patent to Coyn Half-pence, but hath not obliged us to take them, and I have already shewn in my *Letter to the Shop-Keepers, &c.* that the Law hath not left it in the Power of the *Prerogative* to compel the Subject to take any Money, beside Gold and Silver of the Right Sterling and Standard.

Woods further proposes, (if I understand him right, for his Expressions are Dubious) that *he will not Coyn above Fourty Thousand Pounds, unless THE EXI-* 30 *GENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT.* First, I observe that this Sum of *Fourty Thousand Pounds* is almost double to what I proved to be sufficient for the whole Kingdom, although we had not one of our old Half-pence left. Again I ask, who is to be Judge when the

EXIGENCES OF TRADE REQUIRE IT? Without Doubt he means himself, for as to us of this poor Kingdom, who must be utterly Ruined if his Project should succeed, we were never *Once* consulted till the Matter was over, and he will Judge of our EXIGENCES by his own; neither will these be ever at an End till he and his Accomplices will think they have enough; And it now appears that he will not be content with all our Gold and Silver, but intends to Buy up our
10 Goods and Manufactures with the same Coyn.

I shall not enter into Examination of the Prices for which he now proposes to Sell his Half-pence or what he calls his Copper, by the Pound; I have said enough of it in my former Letter, and it hath likewise been considered by others. It is certain that by his own first Computation, we were to pay Three Shillings for what was intrinsically worth but One, although it had been of the true Weight and Standard for which he pretended to have Contracted; but there is so great a Difference
20 both in Weight and Badness in several of his Coyns that some of them have been Nine in Ten below the Intrinsick Value, and most of them Six or Seven.

His last Proposal being of a peculiar Strain and Nature, deserves to be very particularly consider'd, both on Account of the Matter and the Style. It is as follows.

Lastly, in Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Woods will by such Coynage drain them of their Gold and Silver, he proposes
30 *to take their Manufactures in exchange, and that no Person be OBLIGED to receive more than Five pence Half-penny at one payment.*

First, Observe this little Impudent *Hardware Man* turning into ridicule *the Direful Apprehensions of a whole Kingdom*, priding himself as the Cause of them, and daring to prescribe what no King of England ever

attempted, how far a whole Nation shall be obliged to take his Brass Coyn. And he has Reason to Insult; for sure there was never an Example in History, of a great Kingdom kept in Awe for above a Year in daily Dread of utter Destruction, not by a powerful Invader at the Head of Twenty thousand Men, not by a Plague or a Famine, not by a Tyrannical Prince (for we never had one more Gracious) or a corrupt Administration, but by one single, diminutive, insignificant, Mechanick.

But to go on. To Remove our DIREFUL APPRE- 10
HENSIONS *that he will Drain us of our Gold and Silver by his Coinage*: This little Arbitrary Mock-Monarch most Graciously offers to *take our Manufactures in Exchange*. Are our *Irish* Understandings indeed so low in his Opinion? Is not this the very Misery we complain of? That his cursed Project will put us under the Necessity of Selling our Goods for what is equal to *Nothing*. How would such a Proposal Sound from *France* or *Spain* or any other Country we deal with, if they should offer to deal with us only upon this Condition, that we should 20
take their Money at Ten Times higher than the intrinsick Value? Does Mr. *Woods* think, for Instance, that we will Sell him a Stone of Wool for a Parcel of his *Counters* not worth *Six-pence*, when we can send it to *England* and receive as many Shillings in Gold and Silver? Surely there was never heard such a Compound of Impudence, Villany and Folly.

His Proposals Conclude with perfect *High Treason*. He promises, that no Person shall be OBLIGED to receive more than Five-pence Half-penny of his Coyn 30
in one Payment; By which it is plain, that he pretends to OBLIGE every Subject in this Kingdom to take so much in every Payment, if it be offered; whereas his Patent *Obliges* no Man, nor can the Prerogative by Law claim such a Power, as I have often observed; so

19 we deal with,] with which we traffick, '35

that here Mr. *Woods* takes upon him the *Entire Legislature*, and an absolute Dominion over the Properties of the whole Nation.

Good God! Who are this Wretch's *Advisers*? Who are his *Supporters*, *Abettors*, *Encouragers*, or *Sharers*? Mr. *Woods* will *OBLIGE* me to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Brass in every Payment. And I will Shoot Mr. *Woods* and his Deputies through the Head, like *High-way Men* or *House-breakers*, if they dare to force
 10 one Farthing of their Coyn upon me in the Payment of an Hundred Pounds. It is no Loss of Honour to submit to the *Lyon*, but who, with the Figure of a *Man*, can think with Patience of being Devoured alive by a *Rat*. He has laid a Tax upon the People of *Ireland* of Seventeen Shillings at least in the Pound; a Tax I say, not only upon Lands, but Interest-Money, Goods, Manufactures, the Hire of Handicrafts-men, Labourers, and Servants. Shop-Keepers look to your selves. *Woods* will *oblige* and force you to take Five-pence Half-penny
 20 of his Trash in every Payment, and many of you receive Twenty, Thirty, Fourty Payments in a Day, or else you can hardly find Bread: And pray consider how much that will amount to in a Year; Twenty Times Five-pence Half-penny is Nine Shillings and Two-pence, which is above an Hundred and Sixty Pounds a Year, whereof you will be Losers of at least One hundred and Fourty Pounds by taking your Payments in his Money. If any of you be content to Deal with Mr. *Woods* on such Conditions they may. But for my own Particular,
 30 *Let his Money perish with him*. If the Famous Mr. *Hambden* rather chose to go to Prison, than pay a few Shillings to King *Charles* 1st. without Authority of Parliament, I will rather chuse to be *Hanged* than have all my Substance Taxed at Seventeen Shillings in the

10 upon me] on me '35 21 a] one '25, '30, '35 · 25-6 Year,
 whereof] Year: Whereby '35 26 Losers] Losers '35

Pound, at the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of the Venerable Mr. *Woods*.

The Paragraph Concludes thus. *N.B.* (that is to say *Nota bene*, or *Mark well*) *No Evidence appeared from Ireland or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complain'd of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant.*

The Impudence of this Remark exceeds all that went before. First; the House of Commons in *Ireland*, which Represents the whole People of the Kingdom; and 10 Secondly, the Privy Council, Addressed his Majesty against these Half-pence. What could be done more to express the Universal Sense and Opinion of the Nation? If his Copper were Diamonds, and the Kingdom were intirely against it, would not That be sufficient to reject it? Must a Committee of the House of Commons, and our whole Privy Council go over to Argue *Pro* and *Con* with Mr. *Woods*? To what End did the King give his Patent for Coyning of Half-pence in *Ireland*? Was it not, because it was Represented to 20 his Sacred Majesty, that such a Coynage would be of Advantage to the Good of this Kingdom, and of all his Subjects here? It is to the Patentee's Peril if his Representation be false, and the Execution of his Patent be Fraudulent and Corrupt. Is he so Wicked and Foolish to think that his Patent was given him to Ruin a Million and a Half of People, that he might be a Gainer of Three or Fourscore Thousand Pounds to himself? Before he was at the Charge of Passing a Patent, much more of Raking up so much Filthy Dross, and Stamp- 30 ing it with his Majesty's *Image and Superscription*, should he not first in common Sense, in common Equity, and common Manners, have Consulted the principal Party concerned; that is to say, the People of

13 Sense and Opinion] Sense '35 16 the House] the whole House '35
19 Coyning of] Coining '35

the Kingdom, the House of Lords or Commons, or the Privy Council? If any Foreigner should ask us, *whose Image and Superscription* there is in *Woods* his Coyn, we should be ashamed to tell him, it was *Cæsar's*. In that great Want of Copper Half-pence, which he alledges we were, Our City set up *our Cæsar's* Statue in Excellent Copper, at an Expence that is Equal in Value to Thirty thousand Pounds of his Coyn: And we will not receive his *Image* in worse
10 Metal.

I observe many of our People putting a Melancholly Case on this Subject. It is true say they, we are all undone if *Wood's* Half-pence must pass; but what shall we do, if his Majesty puts out a *Proclamation* commanding us to take them? This hath been often Dinne'd in my Ears. But I desire my Country-men to be assured that there is nothing in it. The King never Issues out a *Proclamation* but to enjoyn what the *Law* permits him. He will not Issue out a *Proclamation* against *Law*,
20 or if such a thing should happen by a Mistake, we are no more obliged to obey it than to run our Heads into the Fire. Besides, his Majesty will never Command us by a *Proclamation*, what he does not offer to Command us in the Patent it self. There he leaves it to our Discretion, so that our Destruction must be intirely owing to our selves. Therefore let no Man be afraid of a *Proclamation*, which will never be granted; and if it should, yet upon this Occasion, will be of no Force. The King's Revenues here are near Four hundred
39 Thousand Pounds a Year, can you think his Ministers will Advise him to take them in *Woods's* Brass, which will reduce the Value to Fifty thousand Pounds. *England* gets a Million Sterl. by this Nation, which, if this Project goes on, will be almost reduc'd to Nothing: And do you think those who Live in *England* upon

3-4 in *Woods* his Coyn,] in *Wood's* Coyn, '25; on *Wood's* Coin? '30, '35

Irish Estates will be content to take an Eighth or a Tenth Part, by being payed in *Woods's Dross*?

If *Woods* and his *Confederates* were not convinced of our Stupidity, they never would have attempted so Audacious an Enterprize. He now sees a Spirit hath been raised against him and he only watches till it begins to Flag, he goes about *watching* when to *Devour us*. He hopes we shall be weary of contending with him, and at last out of Ignorance, or Fear, or of being perfectly Tyred with Opposition, we shall be forced to 10 Yield. And therefore I confess it is my chief Endeavour to keep up your Spirits and Resentments. If I tell you there is a Precipice under you, and that if you go forwards you will certainly break your Necks. If I point to it before your Eyes, must I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning? Are our Peoples *hearts waxed Gross*? Are *their Ears Dull of hearing*, and have *they closed their Eyes*? I fear there are some few *Vipers* among us, who, for Ten or Twenty Pounds Gain, would sell their Souls and their Country, though at last 20 it would end in their own Ruin as well as Ours. Be not like the *Deaf Adder*, who refuses to hear the Voice of the *Charmer*, charm he never so wisely.

Though my Letter be Directed to you, Mr. *Harding*, yet I intend it for all my Countrymen. I have no Interest in this affair but what is common to the Publick, I can live better than many others, I have some Gold and Silver by me, and a Shop well furnished, and shall be able to make a Shift when many of my Betters are Starving. But I am grieved to see the Coldness and 30 Indifference of many People, with whom I discourse. Some are afraid of a *Proclamation*, Others Shrug up their Shoulders, and cry, what would you have us do? Some give out, there is no Danger at all. Others are

20 though] although '35 24 Though] ALTHOUGH '35
33 have us do?] have us to do? '25, '30, '35

comforted that it will be a common Calamity and they shall fare no worse than their Neighbours. Will a Man, who hears Midnight-Robbers at his Door, get out of Bed, and raise his Familie for a common Defence, and shall a whole Kingdom lye in a Lethargy, while Mr. *Woods* comes at the Head of his *Confederates* to Rob them of all they have to Ruin us and our Posterity for ever? If an High-way-man meets you on the Road, you give him your Money to save your Life, but, God
 10 be thanked, Mr. *Woods* cannot touch a Hair of your Heads. You have all the Laws of God and Man on your side. When he or his Accomplices offer you his Dross, it is but saying *No*, and you are Safe. If a Mad-man should come to my Shop with an Handful of Dirt raked out of the Kennel, and offer it in payment for Ten Yards of Stuff, I would Pity or Laugh at him, or, if his Behaviour deserved it, Kick him out of my Doors. And if Mr. *Woods* comes to demand any Gold or Silver, or Comodities for which I have payed my Gold and Silver,
 20 in Exchange for his Trash, can he deserve or expect better Treatment?

When the *Evil Day* is come (if it must come) let us mark and observe those who presume to offer these Half-pence in Payment. Let their Names, and Trades, and Places of Aboad be made Publick, that every one may be aware of them, as Betrayers of their Country, and Confederates with Mr. *Woods*. Let them be watched at Markets and Fairs, and let the first honest Discoverer give the Word about, that *Woods's* Half
 30 pence have been offered, and caution the poor innocent People not to receive them.

Perhaps I have been too Tedious; but there would never be an End, if I attempted to say all that this melancholly Subject will bear. I will Conclude with humbly offering one Proposal, which, if it were put in

Practice, would blow up this Destructive Project at once. Let some Skilful Judicious Pen draw up an ADVERTISEMENT to the following Purpose. That

Whereas one William Woods Hard-ware-Man, now or lately Sojourning in the City of London, hath, by many Misrepresentations, procured a Patent for Coyning an Hundred and Fourty thousand Pounds in Copper Half-pence for this Kingdom, which is a Sum Five Times greater than our Occasions require. And whereas it is Notorious that the said Woods hath Coynded his Half-pence of such 10 base Metal and false Weight, that they are, at least, Six Parts in Seven below the real Value. And whereas we have Reason to apprehend, that the said Woods may, at any Time hereafter, clandestinely Coyn as many more Half-pence as he pleases. And whereas the said Patent neither doth nor can Oblige his Majesty's Subjects to receive the said Half-pence in any Payment, but leaves it to their Voluntary Choice, because, by Law the Subject cannot be Obligated to take any Money except Gold or Silver. And whereas, contrary to the Letter and Meaning of the said 20 Patent, the said Woods hath Declared that every Person shall be OBLIGED to take Five-pence Half-penny of his Coyn in every Payment. And whereas the House of Commons and Privy Council have severally Addressed his Most Sacred Majesty, Representing the ill Consequences which the said Coinage may have upon this Kingdom. And lastly whereas it is universally agreed, that the whole Nation to a Man (except Mr. Woods and his Confederates) are in the utmost Apprehensions of the Ruinous Consequences, that must follow from the said Coinage. Therefore we whose 30 Names are underwritten, being Persons of considerable Estates in this Kingdom, and Residers therein, do unanimously Resolve and Declare that we will never receive, one Farthing or Half-penny of the said Woods's Coyning, and that we will direct all our Tenants to refuse the said

Coyne from any Person whatsoever; Of which that they may not be Ignorant, we have sent them a Copy of this Advertisement, to be Read to them by our Stewards, Receivers, &c.

I could wish, that a Paper of this Nature might be Drawn up, and Signed by Two or Three Hundred principal Gentlemen of this Kingdom, and Printed Copies thereof sent to their several Tenants; I am deceived, if any thing could sooner defeat this Execrable Design of *Woods* and his *Accomplices*. This would
10 immediately give the Alarm, and set the Kingdom on their Guard. This would give Courage to the meanest Tenant and Cottager. *How long, O Lord, Righteous and True —*

I must tell you in Particular, Mr. *Harding*, that you are much to blame. Several Hundred Persons have enquired at your House for my *Letter to the Shop-Keepers*, &c. and you had none to Sell them. Pray keep your self provided with that Letter and with this; you have got very well by the former, but I did not then
20 Write for your Sake, any more than I do now. Pray Advertise both in every News-Paper, and let it not be YOUR Fault or MINE, if our Country-Men will not take Warning. I desire you likewise to Sell them as Cheap as you can.

I am your Servant,

Aug. 4. 1724.

M. B.

SOME
Observations
Upon a PAPER, Call'd, The
REPORT
OF THE
COMMITTEE
OF THE
Most Honourable the *Privy-Council*
IN
ENGLAND,
Relating to WOOD's *Half-pence*.

By M. B. Drapier.
AUTHOR of the LETTER to the
SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.

DUBLIN:
Printed by John Harding in Molej-
worth's Court in Fishamble Street.

*To the NOBILITY and GENTRY of the
Kingdom of IRELAND*

HAVING already written *Two Letters* to People of my own Level, and Condition; and having now very pressing Occasion for writing a *Third*; I thought I could not more properly Address it than to *Your Lordships and Worships*.

The Occasion is this. A Printed Paper was sent to me on the 18th Instant, Entitled, *A REPORT of the*
10 *COMMITTEE of the LORDS of His MAJESTY's most Honourable PRIVY-COUNCIL in England, relating to Mr. WOOD's HALF-PENCE and FAR-THINGS*. There is no Mention made where the Paper was Printed, but I suppose it to have been in *Dublin*; and I have been told that the Copy did not come over in the *Gazette*, but in the *London Journal*, or some other Print of no Authority or Consequence; and for any thing that Legally appears to the contrary, it may be a Contrivance to *Fright* us, or a *Project* of some
20 *Printer*, who hath a Mind to make a Penny by Publishing something upon a Subject, which now employs all our Thoughts in this *Kingdom*. Mr. *WOOD* in Publishing this Paper would insinuate to the World, as if the *Committee* had a greater Concern for his Credit and Private Emolument, than for the Honour of the *Privy-Council* and both *Houses of Parliament* Here, and for the Quiet and Welfare of this whole Kingdom: For it seems intended as a Vindication of Mr. *WOOD*, not without several severe Remarks on the Houses of
30 *Lords and Commons of Ireland*.

The whole is indeed written with the Turn and Air of a Pamphlet, as if it were a Dispute between *WILLIAM WOOD* on the one Part, and the *Lords Justices, Privy-Council and Both Houses of Parliament* on

the other; the Design of it being to Clear and Vindicate the Injured Reputation of WILLIAM WOOD, and to Charge the other Side with casting Rash and Groundless Aspersions upon him.

But if it be really what the Title Imports, Mr. WOOD hath treated the COMMITTEE with great Rudeness, by Publishing an Act of theirs in so unbecoming a Manner, without their Leave, and before it was communicated to the *Government* and *Privy-Council* of Ireland, to whom the Committee advised that it should be Transmitted. But with all Deference be it spoken, I do not conceive that a Report of a Committee of the Council in *England* is *Hitherto* a Law in either *Kingdom*; and until any Point is determined to be a LAW, it remains disputable by every Subject.

This (May it please your *Lordships* and *Worships*) may seem a strange Way of discoursing in an *Illiterate Shop-Keeper*. I have endeavoured (although without the Help of Books) to improve that small Portion of Reason which GOD hath pleased to give me, and when Reason plainly appears before me, I cannot turn away my Head from it. Thus for Instance, if any Lawyer should tell me that such a Point were Law, from which many Gross Palpable Absurdities must follow, I would not, I could not believe him. If Sir *Edward Cook* should positively assert (which he no where does, but the direct contrary) that a *Limited Prince*, could by his *Prerogative* oblige his Subjects to take Half an Ounce of Lead, stamped with His Image, for Twenty Shillings in Gold, I should Swear he was *deceived* or a *Deceiver*, because a Power like that, would leave the whole Lives and Fortunes of the People entirely at the Mercy of the Monarch: Yet this, in Effect, is what *Wood* hath advanced in some of his Papers, and what suspicious

1-2 and Vindicate the Injured Reputation of] omitted '35
25 Cook] Coke '30, '35

People may possibly apprehend from some Passages in that which is called the *Report*.

That Paper mentions *Such Persons to have been Examined, who were Desirous and Willing to be heard upon that Subject*. I am told, they were Four in all, *Coleby, Brown, Mr. Finley* the Banker, and one more whose Name I know not. The first of these was Tried for Robbing the Treasury in *Ireland*, and although he were acquitted for want of Legal Proof, yet every Person
 10 in the Court believed him to be Guilty. The second was Tried for a *Rape*, and stands Recorded in the Votes of the House of Commons, for endeavouring by *Perjury* and *Subornation*, to take away the Life of *John Bingham, Esq;*

But since I have gone so far as to mention particular Persons, it may be some Satisfaction to know who is this *Wood* himself, that has the Honour to have a whole Kingdom at his Mercy, for almost Two Years together. I find he is in the Patent Entitled *Esq;* al-
 20 though he were understood to be only a *Hard-Ware-Man*, and so I have been bold to call him in my former Letters; however a '*Squire* he is, not only by Vertue of his Patent, but by having been a Collector in *Shropshire*, where pretending to have been Robbed, and Suing the County, he was Cast, and for the Infamy of the Fact, lost his Employment.

I have heard another Story of this '*Squire Wood* from a very Honourable Lady, That one *Hamilton* told her. He (*Hamilton*) was sent for Six Years ago by Sir *Isaac*
 30 *Newton* to Try the Coynage of Four Men, who then Solicited a Patent for Coyning Half-pence for *Ireland*; their Names were *Wood, Coster, Elliston, and Parker*. *Parker* made the fairest Offer, and *Wood* the worst, for

5 *that Subject.*] *this Subject.* '35 6 *Brown.*] *B—, '35*
 9 *were*] was '35 10-14 The second . . . *John Bingham, Esq;*] *omitted* '35 29 He (*Hamilton*)] *Hamilton* '35

his Coyn were Three Half-pence in a Pound less Value than the other. By which it is plain with what Intentions he Solicited this Patent, but not so plain how he obtained it.

It is alledged in the said Paper, called the *Report*, that upon repeated Orders from a Secretary of State, for sending over such Papers and Witnesses, as should be thought proper to Support the Objections made against the Patent (by Both Houses of Parliament) the Lord Lieutenant Represented *The great Difficulty he found* 10 *himself in to comply with these Orders. That none of the Principal Members of Both Houses, who were in the King's Service or Council, would take upon them to Advise how any Material Person or Papers might be sent over on this Occasion, &c.* And this is often Repeated and Represented as *A Proceeding that seems very Extraordinary, and that in a Matter which had raised so great a CLAMOUR in Ireland, No one Person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland in Support of the United Sense of both Houses of Parliament in Ireland, especially that the chief* 20 *Difficulty should arise from a General Apprehension of a Miscarriage, in an Enquiry before his Majesty, or in a Proceeding by due Course of Law, in a Case where Both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most Solemn Manner.*

How shall I, a poor Ignorant Shop Keeper, utterly unskill'd in Law, be able to answer so weighty an Objection. I will try what can be done by plain Reason, unassisted by Art, Cunning or Eloquence. 30

In my humble Opinion, the Committee of Council hath already prejudg'd the whole Case, by calling the United Sense of both *Houses of Parliament in Ireland* an UNIVERSAL CLAMOUR. Here the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of *Ireland* against a

Ruinous Destructive Project of an *Obscure, Single Undertaker*, is called a CLAMOUR. I desire to know how such a Stile would be Resented in *England* from a Committee of Council there to a Parliament, and how many *Impeachments* would follow upon it. But supposing the Appellation to be proper, I never heard of a wise Minister who despised the UNIVERSAL CLAMOUR of a People, and if that CLAMOUR can be Quieted by disappointing the Fraudulent Practice
10 of a single Person, the Purchase is not Exorbitant.

But in Answer to this Objection. First it is manifest, that if this Coynage had been in *Ireland*, with such Limitations as have been formerly specified in other Patents, and Granted to Persons of this Kingdom, or even of *England*, able to give sufficient Security, few or no Inconveniencies could have happened, which might not have been immediately remedied. As to Mr. *Knox's* Patent mentioned in the Report, Security was given into the Exchequer, that the Patentee should at
20 any Time receive his Half-pence back, and pay Gold or Silver in Exchange for them. And Mr. *Moor* (to whom I suppose that Patent was made over) was in 1694 forced to leave off Coyning, before the End of that Year, by the great Crouds of People continually offering to return his Coynage upon him. In 1698 he Coyned again, and was forced to give over for the same Reason. This entirely alters the Case; for there is no such Condition in *WOOD's* Patent, which Condition was worth a Hundred Times all other Limitations
30 whatsoever.

Put the Case, that the two Houses of *Lords and Commons of England*, and the PRIVY COUNCIL there should Address his Majesty to recal a Patent, from whence they apprehend the most ruinous Consequences

19-20 should at any Time] should, upon all Demands, be obliged to '35

to the whole Kingdom: And to make it Stronger if possible, that the whole Nation, almost to a Man, should thereupon Discover the *most Dismal Apprehensions* (as Mr. *Wood* styles them) would his Majesty debate half an Hour what he had to do? Would any Minister dare advise him against Recalling such a Patent? Or would the Matter be referred to the *Privy Council* or to *Westminster-Hall*, the two Houses of *Parliament Plaintiffs*, and *William Wood Defendant*? And is there even the smallest Difference between the 10 two Cases?

Were not the People of *Ireland* born as *Free* as those of *England*? How have they forfeited their Freedom? Is not their *Parliament* as fair a *Representative* of the *People* as that of *England*? And hath not their *Privy Council* as great or a greater Share in the Administration of Publick Affairs? Are they not Subjects of the same King? Does not the same *Sun* shine on them? And have they not the same *God* for their Protector? Am I a *Free-Man* in *England*, and do I become a *Slave* 20 in six Hours by crossing the Channel? No Wonder then, if the boldest Persons were cautious to interpose in a Matter already determined by the whole Voice of the Nation, or to presume to represent the Representatives of the Kingdom, and were justly apprehensive of meeting such a Treatment as they would deserve at the next Session. It would seem very extraordinary if an Inferiour Court in *England* should take a Matter out of the Hands of the High Court of *Parliament*, during a Prorogation, and decide it against the Opinion of 30 Both Houses.

It happens however, that, although no Persons were so bold, as to go over as Evidences, to prove the Truth of the Objections made against this Patent by the *High Court of Parliament* here, yet these Objections stand

Good, notwithstanding the Answers made by *Wood* and his COUNCIL.

The *Report* says, that *upon an Assay made of the Finess, Weight and Value of this Copper, it exceeded in every Article.* This is possible enough in the Pieces upon which the *Assay* was made; but *Wood* must have failed very much in Point of Dexterity, if he had not taken Care to provide a sufficient Quantity of such Halfpence as would bear the Tryal; which he was well able to do, 10 although *they were taken out of several Parcels.* Since it is now Plain, that the Byass of Favour hath been wholly on his Side.

But what need is there of disputing, when we have positive Demonstration of *Wood's* Fraudulent Practices in this Point. I have seen a large Quantity of these Half-pence weighed by a very Skilful Person, which were of Four Different Kinds, Three of them considerably under weight. I have now before me an exact Computation of the Difference of Weight between 20 these Four Sorts, by which it appears that the Fourth Sort, or the Lightest, differs from the First to a Degree, that, in the Coynage of Three hundred and sixty Tuns of Copper, the Patentee will be a Gainer, only by that Difference, of Twentyfour thousand Four hundred and Ninety four Pounds, and in the whole, the Publick will be a Loser of Eighty two thousand One hundred and Sixty eight Pounds, Sixteen Shillings, even supposing the Metal in Point of Goodness to answer *Wood's* Contract and the *Assay* that hath been made; which it 30 infallibly doth not. For this Point hath likewise been enquired into by very Experienced Men, who, upon several Tryals in many of these Half-pence, have found them to be at least one Fourth Part below the Real Value (not including the *Raps* or *Counterfeits* that he or his Accomplices have already made of *his own Goyn*, and
14 positive] a positive '25, '30, '35 32 in many] on many '35

scattered about) Now the Coynage of Three hundred and Sixty Tun of Copper Coyned by the Weight of the Fourth or Lightest Sort of his Half-pence will amount to One hundred Twenty two thousand Four hundred Eighty eight Pounds, Sixteen Shillings, and if we Subtract a Fourth Part of the Real Value by the *Base Mixture* in the Metal, we must add to the Publick Loss one Fourth Part to be subtracted from the Intrinsick Value of the Copper, which in Three hundred and Sixty Tuns amounts to Ten thousand and Eighty 10 Pounds, and this added to the former Sum of Eighty two thousand One hundred Sixty eight Pounds, Sixteen Shillings, will make in all, Ninety two thousand Two hundred Forty eight Pounds Loss to the Publick; besides the *Raps* or Counterfeits that he may at any time hereafter think fit to Coyn: Nor do I know whether he reckons the DROSS Exclusive or Inclusive with his Three hundred and Sixty Tun of Copper; which however will make a considerable Difference in the Account.

You will here please to observe, that the Profit 20 allowed to *Wood* by the Patent is Twelve-pence out of every Pound of Copper valued at 1s. 6d. whereas 5d. only is allowed for Coynage of a Pound Weight for the *English* Half-pence, and this Difference is almost 25 *per Cent.* which is double to the highest Exchange of Money, even under all the Additional Pressures, and Obstructions to Trade, that this unhappy Kingdom lies at present. This one Circumstance in the Coynage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper makes a Difference of Twenty Seven thousand Seven hundred 30 and Twenty Pounds between *English* and *Irish* Half-pence, even allowing those of *Wood* to be all of the heaviest Sort.

It is likewise to be considered, that for every Half-penny in a Pound Weight exceeding the Number
24-5 25 *per Cent.*] 35 *per Cent C*

directed by the Patent, *Wood* will be a Gainer in the Coynage of Three hundred and sixty Tun of Copper, Sixteen hundred and eighty Pounds Profit more than the Patent allows him; Out of which he may afford to make his *Comptrollers* EASY upon that Article.

As to what is alledged, that *these Half-pence far exceed the like Coynage for Ireland in the Reigns of his Majesties Predecessors*: There cannot well be a more exceptionable Way of Arguing: Although the Fact
10 were true, which however is altogether mistaken; not by any Fault in the *Committee*, but by the Fraud and Imposition of *Wood*, who certainly produced the worst Patterns he could find, such as were coyned in small Numbers by *Permissions to Private Men*, as *Butchers Half-pence*, *Black Dogs* and the Like, or perhaps the Small *St. Patrick's* Coyn which passes for a Farthing, or at best some of the smallest *Raps* of the latest Kind. For I have now by me some Half-pence coyned in the
20 Year 1680 by vertue of the Patent granted to my *Lord Dartmouth*, which was renewed to *Knox*, and they are heavier by a ninth Part than those of *Woods*, and in much better Metal. And the great *St. Patrick's* Half-penny is yet larger than either.

But what is all this to the present Debate? If under the various Exigencies of former Times, by Wars, Rebellions, and Insurrections, the Kings of *England* were sometimes forced to pay their Armies here with mixt or base Money, God forbid that the Necessities of turbulent Times should be a Precedent for Times of
30 Peace, and Order, and Settlement.

In the Patent abovementioned granted to *Lord Dartmouth*, in the Reign of *King Charles 2d.* and renewed to *Knox*, the Securities given into the *Exchequer*, obliging the *Patentee* to receive his Money back upon every Demand, were an effectual Remedy against all

Inconveniencies. And *the Copper was coined in our own Kingdom*, so that we were in no Danger to purchase it with the Loss of all our Silver and Gold carried over to another, nor to be at the Trouble of going to *England* for the Redressing of any Abuse.

That the Kings of *England* have exercised their Prerogative of Coyning Copper for *Ireland* and for *England* is not the present Question: But (to speak in the Style of the Report) it would seem a little extraordinary, supposing a King should think fit to exercise 10 his Prerogative by Coyning Copper in *Ireland*, to be current in *England*, without referring it to his Officers in that Kingdom to be informed whether the Grant was reasonable, and whether the People desir'd it or no, and without regard to the Addresses of his Parliament against it. God forbid that so mean a Man as I should meddle with the King's Prerogative; But I have heard very wise Men say, that the King's Prerogative is bounded and limited by the Good and Wellfare of his People. I desire to know, whether it is not understood 20 and avowed that the Good of *Ireland* was intended by this Patent. But *Ireland* is not consulted at all in the Matter, and as soon as *Ireland* is inform'd of it, they Declare against it; the *Two Houses of Parliament* and the *Privy Council* addresses his Majesty upon the Mischiefs apprehended by such a Patent. The *Privy Council* in *England* takes the Matter out of the PARLIAMENT's Cognizance; the Good of the Kingdom is dropt, and it is now determined that Mr. *Wood* shall have the Power of Ruining a whole Nation for his private 30 Advantage.

I never can suppose that such Patents as these were originally granted with the View of being a JOBB for the Interest of a Particular Person, to the Damage of

4 nor to be] nor be '35 13 was] were '35 20 is] be '35
25 addresses] address '25, '30, '35 27 takes] take '25, '30, '35

the Publick: Whatever Profit must arise to the Patentee was surely meant at best but as a Secondary Motive, and since somebody must be a Gainer, the Choice of the Person was made either by Favour, or SOMETHING ELSE, or by the Pretence of Merit and Honesty. This Argument returns so often and strongly into my Head, that I cannot forbear frequently repeating it. Surely his Majesty, when he consented to the Passing of this Patent, *Conceived* he was doing an Act
10 of Grace to his Most Loyal Subjects of *Ireland*, without any Regard to Mr. *Wood*, farther than as an *Instrument*. But the People of *Ireland* think this Patent (intended NO DOUBT for their Good) to be a most intolerable Grievance, and therefore Mr. *Wood* can never succeed, without an open Avowal that his Profit is preferred not only before the *Interests*, but the very *Safety* and *Being* of a great Kingdom; and a Kingdom distinguished for its Loyalty, perhaps above all others upon Earth. Not
20 turned from its Duty by the *Jurisdiction of the House of Lords*, abolish'd at a *Stroak*, by the *Hardships of the Act of Navigation newly enforced*: By all possible *Obstructions in Trade*, and by a Hundred other Instances, enough to fill this Paper. Nor was there ever among us the least Attempt towards an *Insurrection* in Favour of the PRETENDER. Therefore whatever Justice a FREE PEOPLE can Claim we have at least an *Equal* Title to it with our Brethren in *England*, and whatever Grace a good Prince can bestow on the most *Loyal Subjects*, we have Reason to expect it; Neither hath this Kingdom
30 any way deserved to be Sacrificed to one *Single, Rapacious, Obscure, Ignominious PROJECTOR*.

Among other Clauses mentioned in this *Patent*, to shew how Advantageous it is to *Ireland*, there is one which seems to be of a *Singular Nature*; that the *Patentee* shall be obliged, during his Term, to pay Eight

hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown, and Two hundred Pounds a Year to the Comptroller. I have heard indeed that the King's Council do always consider, in the Passing of a Patent, whether it will be of Advantage to the Crown, but I have likewise heard that it is at the same Time considered whether the Passing of it may be injurious to any other Persons or Bodys Politick: However, although the Attorney and Sollicitor be Servants to the King, and therefore bound to consult his Majesty's Interest, yet I am under some Doubt 10 whether Eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown would be equivalent to the Ruin of a Kingdom. It would be far better for us to have paid Eight thousand Pounds a Year into his Majesties Coffers, in the midst of all our Taxes (which, in Proportion, are greater in this Kingdom than ever they were in *England*, even during the War) than purchase such an Addition to the Revenue at the Price of our UTTER UNDOING.

But here it is plain that Fourteen thousand Pounds are to be paid by *Wood*, only as a *Small Circumstantial* 20 Charge for the Purchase of his Patent, what were his other *Visible Costs* I know not, and what were his LATENT, is variously conjectured. But he must be surely a Man of some wonderful Merit. Hath he saved any other Kingdom at his own Expence, to give him a Title of Re-imbursing himself by the *Destruction* of ours? Hath he discovered the *Longitude* or the *Universal Medicine*? No. But he hath found out the *Philosopher's Stone* after a new Manner, by *Debasing* of *Copper*, and resolving to force it upon us for *Gold*. 30

When the Two Houses represented to his Majesty, that this *Patent* to *WOOD* was obtain'd in a *Clandestine Manner*, surely the Committee could not think the Parliament would insinuate that it had not passed in the common Forms, and run through every Office where

Fees and Perquisites were due. They knew very well that Persons in Places were no Enemies to Grants, and that the Officers of the Crown could not be kept in the Dark. But the **Late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland* affirmed it was a Secret to him (and who will doubt of his VERACITY, especially when he Swore to a Person of Quality; from whom I had it, that *Ireland* should never be troubled with these Half-pence.) It was a *Secret* to the People of *Ireland*, who were to be the *Only Sufferers*,
10 and those who best knew the State of the Kingdom and were most able to advise in such an Affair, were wholly Strangers to it.

It is allowed by the *Report* that this *Patent* was passed without the Knowledge of the Chief Governour or Officers of *Ireland*: And it is there elaborately shewn, that *Former Patents have passed in the same Manner*, and are good in Law. I shall not dispute the Legality of Patents, but am ready to suppose it in his Majesty's Power to grant a Patent for Stamping Round Bits of
20 Copper to every Subject he hath. Therefore to lay aside the Point of Law, I would only put the Question, whether in *Reason* and *Justice* it would not have been proper, in an Affair upon which the *Welfare of a Kingdom depends*, that the said Kingdom should have received timely Notice, and the Matter not be carried on between the *Patentee* and the *Officers of the CROWN*, who were to be the *only* Gainers by it.

The Parliament, who in Matters of this Nature are the most able and Faithful Councillors, did represent
30 this Grant to be *destructive of Trade*, and *Dangerous to the Properties of the People*, to which the only Answer is, That the King hath a *Prerogative to make such a Grant*.

It is asserted that in the Patent to *Knox*, His

Half-pence are made and declared the Current Coyn of the Kingdom, whereas in this to *Wood*, there is only a *Power given to issue them to such as will receive them*. The Authors of the *Report*, I think, do not affirm that the King can by Law Declare *any thing* to be Current Money by his Letters Patents. I dare say they will not affirm it, and if *Knox's* Patent contained in it Powers contrary to Law, why is it mentioned as a Precedent in his Majesties *Just and Merciful Reign*: But although that Clause be not in *Wood's* Patent, yet possibly there 10 are others, the Legality whereof may be equally doubted, and particularly that, whereby a *Power is given to William Wood to break into Houses in search of any Coyn made in Imitation of His*. This may perhaps be affirmed to be Illegal and Dangerous to the Liberty of the Subject. Yet this is a *Precedent* taken from *Knox's* Patent, where the same Power is granted, and is a Strong Instance what Uses may be sometimes made of *Precedents*.

But although before the Passing of this Patent, it 20 was not thought necessary to consult any Persons of this Kingdom, or make the least Enquiry whether Copper Money were wanted among us; Yet now at length, when the Matter is over, when the Patent hath long passed, when *Wood* hath already Coyned Seventeen Thousand Pounds, and hath his Tools and Implements prepared to Coyn *Six-times* as much more; the Committee hath been pleased to make this Affair the Subject of Enquiry. *Wood* is permitted to produce his Evidences, which consist as I have already observed, of 30 Four in Number, whereof *Coleby*, *Brown* and Mr. *Finley* the Banker are Three. And these were to prove that Copper Money was extreamly wanted in *Ireland*. The first had been out of the Kingdom almost Twenty Years, from the Time that he was tryed for *Robbing the*

Treasury, and therefore his *Knowledge* and *Credibility* are equal. The Second may be allowed a more *Knowing* Witness, because I think it is not above a Year since the House of Commons ordered the Attorney General to Prosecute him, for endeavouring *to take away the Life* of John Bingham Esq; *Member of Parliament by Perjury and Subornation*. He asserted that he was forced to Tally with his Labourers for want of Small Money (which hath often been practised in *England* by Sir
 10 *Ambrose Crawly* and others) but those who knew him better give a different reason, (if there be any Truth at all in the Fact) that he was forced to Tally with his Labourers not for want of Half-pence, but of *more Substantial Money*, which is highly possible, because the Race of *Suborners, Forgers, Perjurors* and *Ravishers*, are usually People of no Fortune, or of those who have Run it out by their Vices and Profuseness. Mr. *Finley* the Third Witness honestly confessed, that he was Ignorant whether *Ireland* wanted Copper Money or
 20 no; but all his Intention was to buy a certain Quantity from *Wood* at a *large Discount*, and Sell them as well as he could, by which he hoped to get Two or Three Thousand Pounds for himself.

But suppose there were not one Single Half-penny of Copper Coyn in this whole Kingdom (which Mr. *Wood* seems to intend, unless we will come to his Terms, as appears by employing his Emissarys to buy up our Old ones at a Penny in the Shilling more than they Pass for) It could not be any *real Evil* to us, al-
 30 though it might be some *Inconvenience*. We have many Sorts of small Silver Coyns, to which they are Strangers in *England*, such as the French *Three-pences, Four-pence half-pennys* and *Eight-pence-half-pennys*, the *Scotch*

2-17 The Second . . . Vices and Profuseness.] omitted '35 18 the Third Witness] one of the other Witnesses, '35 33 *Eight-pence-half-pennys*,] *Eight pence-Farthings*, '35

Five-pences and *Ten-pences*, besides their *Twenty-pences*, and *Three and Four-pences*, by all which we are able to make Change to a Half-penny of almost any Piece of Gold or Silver, and if we are driven to *Brown's* Expedient of a *Sealed Card*, with the little Gold or Silver still remaining, it will I suppose, be somewhat better than to have nothing left but *Wood's* Adulterated Copper, which he is neither *obliged* by his *Patent*, nor hitherto *able* by his *Estate* to make good.

The Report farther tells us, it *must be admitted that* 10
Letters Patents under the great Seal of Great-Britain for
Coyning Copper Money for Ireland are Legal and Oblig-
atory, a Just and Reasonable Exercise of his Majesties
Royal Prerogative, and in no manner Derogatory or In-
vasive of ANY Liberty or Privilege of his Subjects of
Ireland. First we desire to know, why his Majesty's
Prerogative might not have been as well asserted, by
 Passing this Patent in *Ireland*, and Subjecting the
 several Conditions of the Contract to the Inspection of
 those who are only concerned, as was formerly done in 20
 the only Precedents for Patents granted for Coyning
 for this Kingdom, since the mixt Money in Queen
Elizabeth's Time, during the Difficulties of a Rebellion:
 Whereas now upon the greatest Imposition that can
 possibly be practised, we must go to *England* with our
 Complaints, where it hath been for some Time the
 Fashion to think and to affirm that *We cannot be too*
hardly used. Again the Report says, that *Such Patents are*
Obligatory. After long thinking, I am not able to find
 out what can possibly be meant here by this Word 30
Obligatory. This Patent of *Wood* neither *Obligeth* him
 to Utter his Coyn, nor us to take it, or if it did the
 latter, it would be so far Void, because no Patent
 can *Oblige* the Subject against Law, unless an illegal

2 by all which] by which '35
Brown's Expedient] the Expedient '35

4 are] were '25, '30, '35
 32 it did] he did '35

Patent passed in *One Kingdom* can Bind *Another* and not itself.

Lastly, it is added that *Such Patents are in no Manner Derogatory or Invasive of any Liberty or Privilege of the King's Subjects of Ireland*. If this Proposition be true, as it is here laid down, without any Limitation either expressed or Implied, it must follow that a King of *England* may at any Time Coyn Copper Money for *Ireland*, and oblige his Subjects here to take a Piece of
10 Copper under the Value of Half a Farthing for Half a Crown, as was practised by the late King *James*, and even without that Arbitrary Prince's Excuse, from the Necessity and Exigences of his Affairs. If this be in no Manner *Derogatory nor Evasive of any Liberties or Privileges of the Subjects of Ireland*, it ought to have been expressed what our *Liberties* and *Privileges* are, and whether we have any at all, for in Specifying the Word *IRELAND*, instead of saying *His Majesty's Subjects*, it would seem to insinuate that we are not upon
20 the same Foot with our Fellow Subjects in *England*; which, however the Practice may have been, I hope will never be directly asserted, for I do not understand that *Poining's* Act deprived us of our *Liberty*, but only changed the Manner of passing Laws here (which however was a Power most indirectly obtained) by leaving the Negative to the Two Houses of Parliament. But, waving all Controversies relating to the Legislature, no Person, I believe, was ever yet so bold as to affirm that the People of *Ireland* have not the same
30 Title to the Benefits of the COMMON LAW, with the rest of his Majesty's Subjects, and therefore whatever Liberties or Privileges the People of *England* enjoy by COMMON LAW, we of *Ireland* have the same; so that in my humble Opinion, the Word *Ireland* standing in that Proposition, was, in the mildest Interpretation, *A Lapse of the Pen*.

The *Report* farther asserts, that *The Precedents are many, wherein Cases of great Importance to Ireland, and that immediately affected the Interests of that Kingdom, Warrants, Orders, and Directions by the Authority of the King and his Predecessors, have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference or Advice of his Majesty's Officers of Ireland, which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually comply'd with, and Obeyed.* It may be so, and I am heartily sorry for it, because it may prove an Eternal 10 Source of Discontent. However among all these *Precedents* there is not one of a Patent for Coyning Money for *Ireland*.

There is nothing hath perplexed me more than this Doctrine of PRECEDENTS. If a Jobb is to be done, and upon searching Records you find it hath been done before, there will not want a Lawyer to Justify the Legality of it, by producing his *Precedents*, without ever considering the Motives and Circumstances that first introduced them, the Necessity or Turbulence or 20 Iniquity of Times, the Corruptions of Ministers, or the Arbitrary Disposition of the Prince then Reigning. And I have been told by Persons eminent in the Law, that the worst Actions which Humane Nature is capable of, may be justified by the same Doctrine. How the first *Precedents* began of Determining Cases of the Highest Importance to *Ireland*, and immediately affecting it's Interest, without any previous Reference or Advice to the King's Officers here, may soon be accounted for. Before this Kingdom was entirely Reduced 30 by the Submission of *Tyrone* in the last Year of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, there was a Period of Four Hundred Years, which was a various Scene of War and Peace between the *English* Pale and the *Irish* Natives, and the Government of that Part of this Island which lay in the

English Hands, was, in many Things under the immediate Administration of the King. Silver and Copper were often Coyned here among us, and once at least upon great Necessity, a mixt or base Metal was sent from *England*. The Reign of King *James Ist.* was employed in settling the Kingdom after *Tyrone's* Rebellion, and this Nation flourished extreamly till the Time of the Massacre 1641. In that difficult Juncture of Affairs, the Nobility and Gentry Coyned their own
10 Plate here in *Dublin*.

By all that I can discover, the Copper Coyn of *Ireland* for Three Hundred Years past consisted of small Pence and Half-pence, which particular Men had Licence to Coyn, and were current only within certain Towns and Districts, according to the personal Credit of the Owner who uttered them, and was bound to receive them again, whereof I have seen many Sorts; neither have I heard of any Patent granted for Coyning Copper for *Ireland* till the Reign of King *Charles II.*
20 which was in the Year 1680. to *George Leg Lord Dartmouth*, and Renewed by King *James II.* in the first Year of his Reign to *John Knox*. Both Patents were passed in *Ireland*, and in both the Patentees were obliged to receive their Coyn again from any that would offer them Twenty Shillings of it, for which they were obliged to pay Gold or Silver.

The Patents both of Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox* were Referred to the Attorney General here, and a Report made accordingly, and both, as I have already said,
30 were passed in this Kingdom. *Knox* had only a Patent for the Remainder of the Term Granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, the Patent expir'd in 1701. and upon a Petition by *Roger Moor* to have it Renewed, the Matter was referred hither, and upon the Report of the Attorney and Solicitor, that it was not for his Majesty's Service

or the Interest of the Nation to have it Renewed, it was Rejected by King *William*. It should therefore seem very *Extraordinary*, that a Patent for Coyning Copper Half-pence, intended and professed for the Good of the Kingdom, should be passed without once consulting that Kingdom, for the Good of which it is declared to be intended, and this upon the Application of a *Poor, Private Obscure Mechanick*; and a Patent of such a Nature, that as soon as ever the Kingdom is informed of it's being passed, they cry out Unanimously against it as *Ruinous* and *Destructive*. The Representatives of the Nation in Parliament, and the Privy-Council Address the King to have it Recall'd; yet the Patentee, such a one as I have described, shall prevail to have this Patent approved, and his private Interest shall weigh down the Application of a whole Kingdom. *St. Paul* says, *All things are Lawful, but all things are not Expedient*. We are Answered that this Patent is *Lawful*, but is it *Expedient*? We Read that the High Priest said *It was expedient that one Man should Die for the People*; 10 And this was a most wicked Proposition. But that a *Whole Nation* should *Die for one Man*, was never heard of before.

But because much Weight is laid on the *Precedents* of other Patents, for *Coyning Copper for Ireland*, I will set this Matter in as clear a Light as I can. Whoever hath Read the *Report*, will be apt to think, that a Dozen *Precedents* at least could be produced of Copper Coyned for *Ireland*, by Vertue of Patents passed in *England*, and that the Coynage was there too; whereas 30 I am confident, there cannot be one *Precedent* shewn of a Patent passed in *England* for Coyning Copper for *Ireland*, for above an Hundred Years past, and if there were any before, it must be in Times of Confusion. The only *Patents* I could ever hear of, are those already mentioned to Lord *Dartmouth* and *Knox*; the Former in

1680. and the Latter in 1685. Now let us compare these Patents with that granted to *Wood*. First, The Patent to *Knox*, which was under the same Conditions as that granted to Lord *Dartmouth*, was Passed in *Ireland*, the Government and the *Attorney* and *Solicitor* General making Report that it would be useful to this Kingdom: The Patentee was obliged to make every Half-penny One hundred and Ten Grains *Troy* weight, whereby 2s. 2d. only could be coyned out of a Pound
10 of Copper. The Patent was Passed with the Advice of the *King's Council* here; The *Patentee* was obliged to receive his Coyn from those who thought themselves surcharged, and to give *Gold* and *Silver* for it; Lastly, The *Patentee* was to pay only 16l. 13s. 4d. per Ann. to the Crown. Then, as to the Execution of that Patent. First, I find the Half-pence were *Milled*, which, as it is of great Use to prevent Counterfeits (and therefore industriously avoided by *Wood*) so it was an Addition to the Charge of Coynage. And for the Weight and
20 Goodness of the Metal; I have several Half-pence now by me, many of which weigh a Ninth Part more than those coyned by *Wood*, and bear the Fire and Hammer a great deal better; and which is no Trifle, the Impression Fairer and Deeper. I grant indeed, that many of the latter Coynage yield in Weight to some of *Wood's*, by a *Fraud* natural to such *Patentees*; but not so immediately after the Grant, and before the Coyn grew Current: For in this Circumstance Mr. *Wood* must serve for a *Precedent* in *Future Times*.

30 Let us now examine this new Patent granted to *William Wood*. It Passed upon very false Suggestions of his own, and of a few Confederates: It passed in *England*, without the least Reference hither. It passed unknown to the very *Lord Lieutenant*, then in *England*:

7-10 The Patentee . . . Pound of Copper] omitted B, C, '25, '30,
'35

Wood is empowered to Coyn One hundred and Eight thousand Pounds, and all the Officers in the Kingdom (Civil and Military) are commanded in the Report to Countenance and assist him. *Knox* had only Power to utter what we would take, and was obliged to receive his Coyn back again at our Demand, and to enter into Security for so doing. *Wood's* Half-pence are not Milled, and therefore more easily Counterfeited by himself as well as by others. *Wood* pays a Thousand Pounds per Ann. for 14 Years, *Knox* paid only 16l. 13s. 4d. per Ann. 10 for 21 Years.

It was the Report that set me the Example of making a Comparison between those two Patents, wherein the Committee was grossly misled by the false Representation of *William Wood*, as it was by another Assertion, that Seven hundred Tun of Copper were coyned during the 21 Years of Lord *Dartmouth's* and *Knox's* Patents. Such a Quantity of Copper at the Rate of 2s. 8d. per Pound would amount to about an Hundred and Ninety thousand Pounds, which was very near as much as the 20 Current Cash of the Kingdom in those Days; yet, during that Period, *Ireland* was never known to have too much Copper Coyn, and for several Years there was no coyning at all: Besides I am assured, that upon enquiring into the Custom-House Books, all the Copper imported into the Kingdom, from 1683 to 1692. which includes 8 Years of the 21 (besides one Year allowed for the Troubles) did not exceed 47 Tuns, and we cannot suppose even that small Quantity to have been wholly apply'd to Coynage: So that I believe there was 30 never any Comparison more unluckily made or so destructive of the Design for which it was produced.

The Psalmist reckons it an Effect of God's Anger, when he selleth his People for Nought, and taketh no Money for them. That we have greatly offended God by

the Wickedness of our Lives is not to be disputed: But our King we have not offended in Word or Deed; And although he be *God's* Vice-gerent upon Earth, he will not punish us for any Offences, except those which we shall commit against his Legal Authority, his Sacred Person (which God preserve) or the Laws of the Land.

The Report is very profuse in Arguments, that *Ireland* is in great want of Copper Money. Who were the *Witnesses* to prove it, hath been shewn already, but
10 in the Name of God, Who are to be *Judges*? Does not the Nation best know its own Wants? Both Houses of Parliament, the Privy-Council and the whole Body of the People declare the Contrary; Or let the Wants be what they will, We desire they may not be supply'd by Mr. *Wood*. We know our own *Wants* but too well; They are *Many* and *Grievous* to be born, but quite of another Kind. Let *England* be satisfied; As things go, they will in a short Time have all our Gold and Silver, and may keep their Adulterate Copper at Home, for we
20 are determin'd not to purchase it with our Manufactures, which *Wood* hath Graciously offered to accept. Our *Wants* are not so bad by an Hundredth Part as the Method he hath taken to supply them. He hath already tryed his Faculty in *New-England*, and I hope he will meet at least with an EQUAL RECEPTION here; what *That* was I leave to Publick Intelligence. I am supposing a Wild Case, that if there should be any Person already receiving a Monstrous Pension out of this Kingdom, who was Instrumental in Procuring this
30 *Patent*, they have either not well consulted their own Interests, or *Wood* must put more Dross into his Copper and still diminish its Weight.

Upon *Wood's* Complaint that the Officers of the King's Revenue here had already given Orders to all the Inferiour Officers not to receive any of his Coyn,

29-30 this *Patent*,] the *Patent*, '35

the Report says, That *this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding*, and being contrary to the Powers given in the Patent, the Committee say, They cannot advise his Majesty to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue here, not to receive or utter any of the said Coyn as has been desired in the Addresses of Both Houses, but on the contrary, they think it both *Just and Reasonable that the King should immediately give Orders to the Commissioners of the Revenue, &c. to revoke all Orders, &c. that may have been given by them to hinder or obstruct the receiving the said Coyn.* And accordingly, we are told, such Orders are arrived. Now this was a Cast of *Wood's Politicks*; for his Information was wholly False and Groundless, which he knew very well; and that the Commissioners of the Revenue here were all, except one, sent us from *England*, and love their Employments too well to have taken such a Step: But *Wood* was wise enough to consider, that such Orders of *Revocation* would be an open Declaration of the Crown in his Favour, would put the Government here under a Diff- 20 culty, would make a Noise, and possibly create some Terror in the Poor People of *Ireland*. And one great Point he hath gained, that although any Orders of Revocation will be needless, yet a new Order is to be sent, and perhaps already here, to the Commissioners of the Revenue, and all the King's Officers in *Ireland*, that *Wood's Half-pence be suffered and permitted, without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation or Denial of any of the King's Officers or Ministers whatsoever, to Pass and be received as CURRENT MONEY by such as shall be* 30 *Willing to receive them.* In this Order there is no Exception, and therefore, as far as I can Judge, it includes all Officers both Civil and Military, from the Lord High Chancellor to a Justice of Peace, and from the General to an Ensign: So that *Wood's Project* is not

likely to fail for want of *Managers* enough. For my own Part, as things stand, I have but little Regret to find my self out of the *Number*, and therefore I shall continue in all Humility to Exhort and Warn my Fellow-Subjects never to Receive or Utter this Coyn, which will Reduce the Kingdom to Beggary by much *Quicker and larger Steps* than have *Hitherto* been taken.

But it is needless to argue any longer. The Matter is come to an Issue. His Majesty *Pursuant to the Law*,
10 hath left the *Field* open between *Wood* and the Kingdom of *Ireland*. *Wood* hath Liberty to *Offer* his Coyn, and We have *Law, Reason, Liberty* and *Necessity* to refuse it. A knavish Jocky may Ride an old Foundred Jade about the Market, but none are obliged to Buy it. I hope the Words *Voluntary* and *Willing to receive it* will be understood, and applied in their true Natural Meaning, *As commonly understood by PROTESTANTS*. For if a *Fierce Captain* comes to my Shop to Buy Six Yards of Scarlet Cloth, followed by a Porter laden with a Sack
20 of *Wood's* Coyn upon his Shoulders, if we are agreed about the Price, and my Scarlet lyes ready cut upon the Counter, if he then gives me the *Word of Command*, to receive my Money in *Wood's* Coyn, and calls me a *Disaffected Jacobite Dog* for refusing it (although I am as Loyal a Subject as himself, and *Without Hire*) and thereupon Seizes my Cloth, leaving me the Price in this Odious Copper, and bids me take my Remedy: In this Case, I shall hardly be brought to think that I am *Left to my own Will*. I shall therefore on such Occasions,
30 first order the Porter aforesaid to go off with his Pack, and then see the Money in *Silver* and *Gold* in my Possession before I Cut or Measure my Cloth. But if a *Common Soldier* drinks his Pot first, and then offers Payment in *Wood's* Half-pence, the *Landlady* may be under some Difficulty; For if she complains to his *Captain* or *Ensign*, they are likewise OFFICERS,

included in this General Order for encouraging these Half-pence to pass as CURRENT MONEY. If she goes to a Justice of *Peace*, he is also an *Officer*, to whom this General Order is directed. I do therefore Advise her to follow my Practice, which I have already begun, and be payed for her Goods before she parts with them. However I should have been content, for some Reasons, that the *Military Gentlemen* had been excepted by Name, because I have heard it said, that their Discipline is best confined within their own District. 10

His Majesty in the Conclusion of his Answer to the Address of the House of Lords against *Wood's Coyn*, is pleased to say that *He will do every Thing in his Power for the Satisfaction of his People*. It should seem therefore, that the Recalling the Patent is not to be understood as a Thing *In his Power*. But however since the Law does not oblige us to receive this Coyn, and consequently the Patent leaves it to our Voluntary Choice, there is nothing remaining to preserve us from Ruin but that the whole Kingdom should continue in a firm 20 determinate Resolution never to Receive or Utter this FATAL Coyn: After which, let the *Officers* to whom these Orders are directed, (I would willingly except the *Military*) come with their *Exhortations*, their *Arguments* and their *Eloquence*, to persuade us to find our Interest in our Undoing. Let *Wood* and his *Accomplices* Travel about the Country with *Cart-Loads* of their *Ware*, and see who will take it off their Hands, there will be no Fear of his being Robbed, for a *Highway-Man* would scorn to touch it. 30

I am only in Pain how the *Commissioners* of the *Revenue* will proceed in this Juncture; because I am told they are obliged by Act of Parliament to take nothing but *Gold* and *Silver* in Payment for His Majesty's *Customs*, and I think they cannot Justly offer

this Coynage of Mr. *Wood* to others, unless they will be content to receive it themselves.

The Sum of the whole is this. The *Committee Advises the King to send immediate Orders to all his Officers here, that Wood's Coyn be Suffered and Permitted without any Let, Suit, Trouble, &c. to pass and be received as CURRENT MONEY by such as shall be WILLING to receive the same.* It is probable, that the first *WILLING Receivers* may be those who *Must Receive it*
10 *whether they will or no*, at least under the Penalty of losing an Office. But the *Landed Undepending Men*, the *Merchants*, the *Shop-Keepers* and Bulk of the People, I hope, and am almost confident, will never receive it. What must the Consequence be? The Owners will Sell it for as much as they can get. *Wood's* Half-pence will come to be offered for Six a Penny (yet then he will be a sufficient Gainer) and the *Necessary Receivers* will be Losers of Two Thirds in their *Salaries* or *Pay*.

20 This puts me in Mind of a Passage I was told many Years ago in *England*. At a Quarter-Sessions in *Leicester*, the Justices had wisely decreed, to take off a Half-penny in a Quart from the Price of Ale. One of them, who came in after the thing was determined, being inform'd of what had passed, said thus: *Gentlemen; You have made an Order, that Ale should be sold in our Country for Three Half pence a Quart: I desire you will now make another to appoint who must Drink it, for BY*
G—— I WILL NOT.

30 I must beg leave to caution your *Lordships* and *Worships* in one Particular. *Wood* hath graciously promised to *Load* us at present only with Fourty thousand Pounds of his Coyn, *till the Exigences of the Kingdom require the Rest*. I intreat you will never suffer Mr. *Wood* to be a Judge of your EXIGENCES. While

there is one Piece of Silver or Gold remaining in the Kingdom he will call it an EXIGENCY, he will double his present *Quantum* by Stealth as soon as he can, and will have the Remainder still to the Good. He will Pour his own *Raps* and Counterfeits upon us: *France* and *Holland* will do the same; nor will our own Coyners at home be behind them: To confirm which, I have now in my Pocket a *Rap* or Counterfeit Half-penny in imitation of His, but so ill performed, that in my Conscience I believe it is not of his Coyning. 10

I must now desire your *Lordships* and *Worships* that you will give great Allowance for this long undigested Paper, I find my self to have gone into several Repetitions, which were the Effects of Haste, while new Thoughts fell in to add something to what I had said before. I think I may affirm that I have fully answered every Paragraph in the *Report*, which although it be not unartfully drawn, and is perfectly in the Spirit of a Pleader who can find the most plausible Topicks in behalf of his Client, yet there was no great Skill required to 20 detect the many Mistakes contained in it, which however are by no means to be charged upon the Right Honourable Committee, but upon the most False Impudent and Fraudulent Representations of *Wood* and his Accomplices. I desire one Particular may dwell upon your Minds, although I have mentioned it more than once; That after all the Weight layed upon *Precedents* there is not one produced in the whole *Report*, of a Patent for Coyning Copper in *England* to Pass in *Ireland*, and only two Patents referred to (for indeed 30 there were no more) which were both passed in *Ireland*, by References to the King's Council here, both less Advantageous to the Coyner than this of *Wood*, and in both *Securities given to receive the Coyn at every Call, and*

1 remaining] left '35
still to the Good.] can: '35

3-4 can, and will have the Remainder

give Gold and Silver in Lieu of it. This Demonstrates the most Flagrant Falshood and Impudence of *Wood*, by which he would endeavour to make the Right Honourable Committee his Instruments, (for his own Illegal and Exorbitant Gain,) to Ruin a Kingdom, which hath deserved *quite different Treatment*.

I am very Sensible that such a Work as I have undertaken might have worthily employed a much better Pen. But when a House is attempted to be Robbed it
 10 often happens that the weakest in the Family runs first to stop the Door. All the Assistance I had were some Informations from an *Eminent Person*, whereof I am afraid I have Spoiled a Few by endeavouring to make them of a Piece with my own Productions, and the Rest I was not able to manage: I was in the Case of *David* who *could not move in the Armour of Saul*, and therefore I rather chose to attack this *Uncircumcised Philistine* (*Wood* I mean) *with a Sling and a Stone*. And I may say for *Wood's* Honour as well as my own, that
 20 he Resembles *Goliath* in many Circumstances, very applicable to the present Purpose; For *Goliath* had a *Helmet of Brass upon his Head*, and he was *Armed with a Coat of Mail*, and the weight of the Coat was *Five Thousand Sheakles of Brass*, and he had *Greaves of Brass upon his Legs*, and a *Target of Brass between his Shoulders*. In short he was like Mr. *Wood*, all over Brass; And he *defied the Armies of the Living God*. *Goliath's* Condition of Combat were likewise the same with those of *Wood*. *If he prevail against us, then shall we be his Servants*:
 30 But if it happens that I *prevail* over him, I Renounce the other part of the Condition, he shall never be a *Servant* of Mine, for I do not think him fit to be Trusted in any *Honest Man's Shop*.

I will conclude with my Humble Desire and Request which I made in my Second Letter; That your *Lordships*

and *Worships* would please to Order a *Declaration* to be drawn up expressing, in the Strongest Terms, your firm Resolutions never to receive or Utter any of *Wood's* Half-pence or Farthings, and forbidding your Tenants to receive them. That the said *Declaration* may be Signed by as many Persons as possible who have Estates in this Kingdom, and be sent Down to your several Tenants aforesaid.

And if the Dread of *Wood's* Half-pence should continue till next *Quarter Sessions* (which I hope it will not) ¹⁰ the Gentlemen of every County will then have a fair Opportunity of Declaring against them with Unanimity and Zeal.

I am with the greatest Respect,

(May it please your Lordships and Worships)

Your most Dutiful and

Obedient Servant,

Aug. 25.

1724.

M. B.

3 firm] omitted '25, '30, '35

10 till] until '35

A

LETTER

TO THE

WHOLE People

OF

IRELAND.

By M. B. Drapier.

AUTHOR of the LETTER to the
SHOP-KEEPERS, &c.

D U B L I N .

Printed by John Harding in Molej-
worth's-Court in Fishamble-Street.

* A LETTER, &c.

My Dear Countrymen,

HAVING already written Three *Letters* upon so disagreeable a Subject as Mr. *Wood* and his *Half-pence*; I conceived my Task was at an End: But I find, that Cordials must be frequently apply'd to weak Constitutions, *Political* as well as *Natural*. A People long used to Hardships, lose by Degrees the very Notions of *Liberty*, they look upon themselves as
10 Creatures at Mercy, and that all Impositions laid on them by a stronger Hand, are, in the Phrase of the *Report*, *Legal* and *Obligatory*. Hence proceeds that *Poverty* and *Lowness of Spirit*, to which a *Kingdom* may be subject as well as a *Particular Person*. And when *Esau* came fainting from the Field at the Point to Die, it is no wonder that he Sold his Birth-Right for a Mess of Pottage.

I thought I had sufficiently shewn to all who could want Instruction, by what Methods they might safely
20 proceed, whenever this *Coy*n should be offered to them: And I believe there hath not been for many Ages an Example of any Kingdom so firmly united in a Point of great Importance, as this of Ours is at present, against that detestable Fraud. But however, it so happens that some weak People begin to be alarmed anew, by Rumours industriously spread. *Wood* prescribes to the News-Mongers in *London* what they are to write. In one of their Papers published here by some

12 proceeds] proceed '35

* N.B. This was the Letter, against which the Lord Lieutenant (Carteret) and Council, issued a Proclamation, offering three Hundred Pounds to discover the Author; and for which, Harding the Printer

was tried before that infamous Wretch Whitshed, the Chief Justice: But the noble Jury would not find the Bill; nor would any Person discover the Author. '35.

obscure Printer (and probably with no good Design) we are told, that *the Papists in Ireland have entered into an Association against his Coyn*, although it be notoriously known, that they never once offered to stir in the Matter; so that the Two Houses of Parliament, the Privy Council, the great Number of Corporations, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, the Grand-Juries, and Principal Gentlemen of several Counties are stigmatized in a Lump under the Name of *Papists*.

This Imposter and his Crew do likewise give out, ¹⁰ that, by refusing to receive his Dross for Sterling, we *dispute the King's Prerogative, are grown Ripe for Rebellion, and ready to shake off the Dependancy of Ireland upon the Crown of England*. To countenance which Reports he hath publish'd a Paragraph in another News-Paper, to let us know that *the Lord Lieutenant is ordered to come over immediately to settle his Half-pence*.

I intreat you, my dear Countrymen, not to be under the least Concern upon these and the like Rumours, which are no more than the last Howls of a Dog ²⁰ dissected alive, as I hope he hath sufficiently been. These Calumnies are the only Reserve that is left him. For surely our continued and (almost) unexampled Loyalty will never be called in Question for not suffering our selves to be Robbed of all that we have, by one obscure *Iron-Monger*.

As to disputing the King's *Prerogative*, give me Leave to explain to those who are Ignorant, what the meaning of that word *Prerogative* is.

The Kings of these Realms enjoy several Powers, ³⁰ wherein the Laws have not interposed: So they can make War and Peace without the Consent of Parliament; and this is a very great *Prerogative*. But if the Parliament doth not approve of the War, the King

1 (and probably with no good Design)] (and certainly with a bad Design) '35 6 Number] Numbers '25, '30, '35

must bear the Charge of it out of his own Purse, and this is as great a Check on the Crown. So the King hath a *Prerogative* to Coin Money without Consent of Parliament. But he cannot compel the Subject to take that Money except it be Sterling, Gold or Silver; because herein he is Limited by Law. Some Princes have indeed extended their *Prerogative* further than the Law allowed them: Wherein however, the Lawyers of Succeeding Ages, as fond as they are of *Precedents*, have
 10 never dared to Justifie them. But to say the Truth, it is only of late Times that *Prerogative* hath been fixed and ascertained. For whoever Reads the Histories of *England*, will find that some former Kings, and these none of the worst, have upon several Occasions ventured to controul the Laws with very little Ceremony or Scruple, even later than the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*. In her Reign that pernicious Counsel of sending *Base Money* hither, very narrowly failed of Losing the Kingdom, being complained of by the Lord Deputy,
 20 the Council, and the whole Body of the *English* here: So that soon after her Death it was recalled by her Successor, and Lawful Money paid in Exchange.

Having thus given you some Notion of what is meant by the King's *Prerogative*, as far as a *Tradesman* can be thought capable of Explaining it, I will only add the Opinion of the great Lord *Bacon* That as God governs the World by the settled Laws of Nature, which he hath made, and never transcends those Laws but upon High Important Occasions: So among Earthly Princes, those are
 30 the Wisest and the Best, who govern by the known Laws of the Country, and seldome make Use of their *Prerogative*.

Now, here you may see that the Vile Accusation of *Wood* and his Accomplices, charging us with *Disputing the King's Prerogative* by refusing his Brass, can have

no Place, because compelling the Subject to take any Coin which is not Sterling is no Part of the King's *Prerogative*; and I am very confident if it were so, we should be the last of his People to dispute it, as well from that inviolable Loyalty we have always paid to his Majesty, as from the Treatment we might in such a Case justly expect from some who seem to think, we have neither *Common Sense* nor *Common Senses*. But God be thanked, the Best of them are only our *Fellow Subjects*, and not our *Masters*. One great Merit I ¹⁰ am sure we have, which those of *English Birth* can have no Pretence to, That our Ancestors reduced this Kingdom to the Obedience of ENGLAND, for which we have been rewarded with a worse Climate, the Privilege of being governed by Laws to which we do not consent, a Ruined Trade, a House of *Peers* without *Jurisdiction*, almost an Incapacity for all Employments; and the Dread of *Wood's Half-pence*.

But we are so far from disputing the King's *Prerogative* in Coyning, that we own he has Power to give ²⁰ a Patent to any Man for setting his Royal Image and Superscription upon whatever Materials he pleases, and Liberty to the Patentee to offer them in any Country from *England* to *Japan*, only attended with one small Limitation, That *no body alive is obliged to take them*.

Upon these considerations I was ever against all Recourse to *England* for a Remedy against the present Impending Evil, especially when I observed that the Addresses of Both Houses, after long Expectance, produced nothing but a REPORT altogether in ³⁰ Favour of *Wood*, upon which I made some Observations in a former Letter, and might at least have made as many more: For it is a Paper of as Singular a Nature as I ever beheld.

But I mistake; for before this *Report* was made, His

Majesties *Most Gracious Answer* to the House of Lords was sent over and Printed, wherein there are these Words, *Granting the Patent for Coyning Half-pence and Farthings* AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, &c. That King *Charles 2d.* and King *James 2d.* (AND THEY ONLY) did grant Patents for this Purpose is indisputable, and I have shewn it at large. Their Patents were passed under the great Seal of IRELAND by References to
10 IRELAND, the Copper to be Coyned in IRELAND, the Patentee was bound on Demand to receive his Coyn back in IRELAND, and pays Silver and Gold in Return. *Wood's* Patent was made under the great Seal of ENGLAND, the Brass Coynd in ENGLAND, not the least Reference made to IRELAND, the Sum Immense, and the Patentee under no Obligation to receive it again and give good Money for it: This I only mention, because in my private Thoughts I have sometimes made a Query, whether the *Penner* of
20 those Words in his Majesties *Most Gracious Answer*, AGREEABLE TO THE PRACTICE OF HIS ROYAL PREDECESSORS, had maturely considered the several Circumstances, which, in my poor Opinion seem to make a Difference.

Let me now say something concerning the other great Cause of some Peoples Fear, as *Wood* has taught the *London News-Writer* to express it: That *his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant is coming over to settle Wood's Half-pence.*

30 We know very well that the Lords Lieutenants for several Years past have not thought this Kingdom *Worthy the Honour of their Residence*, longer than was absolutely necessary for the King's Business, which consequently *wanted no Speed in the Dispatch*; and therefore it naturally fell into most Mens Thoughts, that a new Governour coming at an *Unusual Time* must

portend some *Unusual* Business to be done, especially if the Common Report be true, that the Parliament Prorogued to I know not when, is by a new Summons (revoking that Prorogation) to assemble soon after his Arrival: For which extraordinary Proceeding the Lawyers on tother Side the Water have by great good Fortune found Two *Precedents*.

All this being granted, it can never enter into my Head that so *Little a Creature* as *Wood* could find Credit enough with the King and his Ministers to have 10 the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* sent hither in a Hurry upon his Errand.

For let us take the whole Matter nakedly as it lies before us, without the Refinements of some People, with which we have nothing to do. Here is a Patent granted under the great Seal of *England*, upon false Suggestions, to one *William Wood* for Coyning Copper Half-pence for *Ireland*: The *Parliament* here, upon Apprehensions of the worst Consequences from the said Patent, address the King to have it recalled; this 20 is refused, and a Committee of the Privy Council *Report* to his Majesty, that *Wood* has performed the Conditions of his Patent. He then is left to do the best he can with his Half-pence; no Man being obliged to receive them; the People here, being likewise left to themselves, unite as one Man, resolving they will have nothing to do with his Ware. By this plain Account of the Fact it is Manifest, that the King and his Ministry are wholly out of the Case, and the Matter is left to be disputed between him and us. Will any Man therefore 30 attempt to persuade me, that a Lord Lieutenant is to be dispatched over in great Haste before the Ordinary Time, and a Parliament summoned by anticipating a Prorogation, meerly to put an Hundred thousand Pounds into the Pocket of a *Sharper*, by the Ruin of a most Loyal Kingdom.

But supposing all this to be true. By what Arguments could a Lord Lieutenant prevail on the same Parliament which addressed with so much Zeal and Earnestness against this Evil, to pass it into a Law? I am sure their Opinion of *Wood* and his Project is not mended since the last Prorogation; and Supposing those *Methods* should be used which *Detractors* tell us have been sometimes put in Practice for *gaining Votes*. It is well known that in this Kingdom there are few Em-
 10 ployments to be given, and if there were more, it is *as well known* to whose Share they must fall.

But because great Numbers of you are altogether Ignorant in the Affairs of your Country, I will tell you some Reasons why there are so few Employments to be disposed of in this Kingdom. All considerable Offices for Life here are possessed by those to whom the Reversions were granted, and these have been generally Followers of the Chief Governours, or Persons who had Interest in the Court of *England*. So the Lord *Berkely* of
 20 *Stratton* holds that great Office of *Master of the Rolls*, the Lord *Palmerstown* is *First Remembrancer* worth near 2000*l.* per Ann. One *Dodington* Secretary to the Earl of *Pembroke*, begged the Reversion of *Clerk of the Pells* worth 2500*l.* a Year, which he now enjoys by the Death of the Lord *Newtown*. Mr. *Southwell* is Secretary of State, and the Earl of *Burlington* Lord High Treasurer of *Ireland* by Inheritance. These are only a few among many others which I have been told of, but cannot remember. Nay the Reversion of several Employments
 30 during Pleasure are granted the same Way. This among many others is a Circumstance whereby the Kingdom of *Ireland* is distinguished from all other Nations upon Earth, and makes it so Difficult an Affair to get into a Civil Employ, that Mr. *Addison* was forced to purchase an old obscure Place, called *Keeper of the*

*Records of Berminghams Tower of Ten Pounds a Year, and to get a Sallery of 400*l.* annexed to it, though all the Records there are not worth Half a Crown, either for Curiosity or Use. And we lately saw a *Favourite Secretary descend to be Master of the Revels, which by his Credit and Extortion he hath made Pretty Considerable. I say nothing of the Under-Treasurership worth about 8000*l.* a Year, nor the Commissioners of the Revenue, Four of whom generally live in England: For I think none of these are granted in Reversion. But 10 the Jest is, that I have known upon Occasion some of these absent Officers as Keen against the Interest of Ireland as if they had never been indebted to Her for a Single Groat.*

I confess, I have been sometimes tempted to wish that this Project of *Wood* might succeed, because I reflected with some Pleasure what a *Jolly Crew* it would bring over among us of *Lords* and *'Squires*, and *Pensioners of Both Sexes*, and *Officers Civil and Military*, where we should live together as merry and sociable as 20 Beggars, only with this one Abatement, that we should neither have *Meat* to feed, nor *Manufactures* to Cloath us, unless we could be content to *Prance* about in *Coats of Mail*, or *Eat Brass* as *Ostritches* do *Iron*.

I return from this Digression to that which gave me the Occasion of making it: And I believe you are now convinced, that if the Parliament of *Ireland* were as *Temptible* as any other Assembly within a Mile of Christendom (which God forbid) yet the *Managers* must of Necessity fail for want of *Tools* to work with. But I 30 will yet go one Step further, by Supposing that a Hundred new Employments were erected on purpose to gratify *Compliers*; yet still an insuperable Difficulty

1 of] in '35 8 8000 *l.*] 9000 *l.* '35 11 Test] Jest '35

* Mr. Hopkins, *Secretary to the Duke of Grafton.* '35

would remain; for it happens, I know not how, that *Money* is neither *Whig* nor *Tory*, neither of *Town* nor *Country Party*, and it is not improbable, that a Gentleman would rather chuse to live upon his *own Estate* which brings him *Gold* and *Silver*, than with the Addition of an *Employment*, when his *Rents* and *Sallery* must both be paid in *Wood's Brass*, at above Eighty per Cent. Discount.

For these and many other Reasons, I am confident
 10 you need not be under the least Apprehensions from the sudden Expectation of the *Lord Lieutenant*, while we continue in our present Hearty Disposition; to alter which there is no Suitable Temptation can possibly be offered: And if, as I have often asserted from the best Authority, the *Law* hath not left a *Power* in the *Crown* to force any Money except Sterling upon the Subject, much less can the *Crown devolve* such a *Power* upon another.

This I speak with the utmost Respect to the *Person*
 20 and *Dignity* of His Excellency the Lord *Carteret*, whose Character hath been given me by a Gentleman that hath known him from his first Appearance in the World: That Gentleman describes Him as a Young Noble Man of great Accomplishments, Excellent Learning, Regular in his Life, and of much Spirit and Vivacity. He hath since, as I have heard, been employed abroad, was Principal Secretary of State, and is now about the 37th Year of his Age appointed Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. From such a Governour this
 30 Kingdom may reasonably hope for as much Prosperity as, *under so many Discouragements*, it can be capable of Receiving.

It is true indeed, that within the Memory of Man, there have been Governours of so much Dexterity, as

21 hath been] was lately '35 23-4 Young Noble Man] young Man '35

to carry Points of Terrible Consequence to this Kingdom, by their Power with *those who were in Office*, and by their Arts in managing or deluding others with *Oaths, Affability*, and even with *Dinners*. If *Wood's Brass* had in those Times been upon the *Anvil*, it is obvious enough to conceive what Methods would have been taken. *Depending Persons* would have been told in plain Terms, that it was a *Service expected from them, under Pain of the Publick Business being put into more complying Hands*. Others would be allured by *Promises*.¹⁰ To the *Country Gentlemen*, besides *Good Words, Burgundy and Closeting*. It would perhaps have been hinted how kindly it would be taken to comply with a *Royal Patent, though it were not compulsory*, that if any Inconveniencies ensued, it might be made up with other *Graces or Favours hereafter*. That *Gentlemen ought to consider whether it were prudent or safe to disgust England*: They would be desired to *think of some good Bills for encouraging of Trade, and setting the Poor to Work, some further Acts against Popery and for Uniting Protestants*. There²⁰ would be solemn Engagements that we should *never be troubled with above Forty thousand Pounds in his Coyn, and all of the best and weightiest Sort, for which we should only give our Manufactures in Exchange, and keep our Gold and Silver at Home*. Perhaps a *seasonable Report of some Invasion would have been spread in the most proper Juncture, which is a great Smoother of Rubs in Publick Proceedings; and we should have been told that this was no Time to create Differences when the Kingdom was in Danger*.³⁰

These, I say, and the like Methods would in corrupt Times have been taken to let in this Deluge of Brass among us: And I am Confident would even then have not succeeded, much less under the Administration of

2 were] are '25, '30, '35 9 under Pain] under the Pain '30, '35
12 Closeting. It would] Closeting; it might, '35

so Excellent a Person as the Lord *Carteret*, and in a Country where the People of all Ranks, Parties and Denominations are convinced to a Man, that the utter undoing of themselves and their Posterity for ever will be Dated from the Admission of that Execrable Coyn; that if it once enters, it can be no more confined to a small or Moderate Quantity, than the *Plague* can be confined to a few Families, and that no *Equivalent* can be given by any earthly Power, any more than a Dead
 10 Carcass can be recovered to Life by a Cordial.

There is one comfortable Circumstance in this Universal Opposition to Mr. *Wood*, that the People sent over hither from *England* to fill up our Vacancies Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military, are all on our Side: Money, the great Divider of the World, hath by a strange Revolution, been the great Uniter of a most Divided People. Who would leave a Hundred Pounds a Year in *England* (a Country of Freedom) to be paid a Thousand in *Ireland* out of *Wood's* Exchequer. The Gentleman
 20 They have lately made *Primate* would never quit his Seat in an *English* House of Lords, and his Preferments at *Oxford* and *Bristol*, worth Twelve hundred Pounds a Year, for Four times the Denomination here, but not half the Value; therefore I expect to hear he will be as good an *Irish* Man, upon this Article, as any of his Brethren, or even of Us who have had the Misfortune to be born in this Island. For those, who, in the common Phrase, do not come hither to learn the Language, would never change a better Country for a Worse, to receive
 30 Brass instead of Gold.

Another Slander spread by *Wood* and his Emissaries is, that by opposing him we discover an Inclination to shake off our Dependance upon the Crown of *England*. Pray observe how Important a Person is this same *William*

25 *Irish* Man, upon this Article,] *Irishman*, at least, upon this one Article, '35

Wood, and how the Publick Weal of Two Kingdoms is involved in his Private Interest. First, all those who refuse to take his Coyn *are Papists*; for he tells us that *none but Papists are associated against him*; Secondly, *They dispute the King's Prerogative*; Thirdly, *They are Ripe for Rebellion*, and Fourthly, *They are going to shake off their Dependance upon the Crown of England*; That is to say, *they are going to chuse another King*: For there can be no other Meaning in this Expression, however some may pretend to strain it. 10

And this gives me an Opportunity of Explaining, to those who are Ignorant, another Point, which hath often *Swelled in my Breast*. Those who come over hither to us from *England*, and some *Weak People* among our selves, whenever in Discourse we make mention of *Liberty and Property*, shake their Heads, and tell us, that *Ireland* is a *Depending Kingdom*, as if they would seem, by this Phrase, to intend that the People of *Ireland* is in some State of Slavery or Dependance different from those of *England*: Whereas a *Depending Kingdom* is a 20 *Modern Term of Art*, unknown, as I have heard, to all antient *Civilians*, and *Writers upon Government*; and *Ireland* is on the contrary called in some Statutes an *Imperial Crown*, as held only from God; which is as High a Style as any Kingdom is capable of receiving. Therefore by this Expression, a *Depending Kingdom*, there is no more understood than that by a Statute made here in the 33d Year of *Henry 8th*. *The King and his Successors are to be Kings Imperial of this Realm as United and Knit to the Imperial Crown of England*. I have 30 looked over all the *English and Irish Statutes* without finding any Law that makes *Ireland depend upon England*, any more than *England does upon Ireland*. We have indeed obliged our selves to have the *same King with them*, and consequently they are obliged to have *the same King with us*. For the Law was made by

our own Parliament, and our Ancestors then were not such Fools (*whatever they were in the Preceding Reign*) to bring themselves under I know not what *Dependence*, which is now talked of without any Ground of *Law*, *Reason* or *Common Sense*.

Let whoever think otherwise, I M. B. Drapier, desire to be excepted, for I declare, next under God, I *depend* only on the King my Sovereign, and on the Laws of my own Country; and I am so far from *depending* upon
10 the People of *England*, that if they should ever *Rebel* against my Sovereign (which God forbid) I would be ready at the first Command from his Majesty to take Arms against them, as some of *my* Country-men did against *Theirs* at *Preston*. And if such a Rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the *Pretender* on the Throne of *England*, I would venture to transgress that *Statute* so far as to lose every Drop of my Blood to hinder him from being *King of Ireland*.

'Tis true indeed, that within the Memory of Man,
20 the Parliaments of *England* have *Sometimes* assumed the Power of binding this Kingdom by Laws enacted there, wherein they were at first openly opposed (as far as *Truth*, *Reason* and *Justice* are capable of *Opposing*) by the Famous Mr. *Molineaux*, an *English* Gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest Patriots, and best *Whigs* in *England*; But the *Love* and *Torrent* of Power prevailed. Indeed the Arguments on both sides were invincible; For in *Reason*, all *Government* without the Consent of the *Governed* is the *very Definition* of
30 *Slavery*: But in *Fact*, *Eleven Men well Armed* will certainly subdue one Single Man in his Shirt. But I have done. For those who have used *Power* to cramp *Liberty* have gone so far as to Resent even the *Liberty* of *Complaining*, altho' a Man upon the Rack was never known to be refused the *Liberty* of *Roaring* as loud as he thought fit.

And as we are apt to *sink* too much under *unreasonable* Fears, so we are too soon inclined to be *Raised* by groundless Hopes (according to the Nature of all *Consumptive* Bodies like ours) thus, it hath been given about for several Days past, that *Some body* in *England* empowered a Second *Some body* to write to a third *Somebody* here to assure us, that we *should no more be troubled with those Half-pence*, And this is Reported to have been done by the **Same Person*, who was said to have Sworn some Months ago, that he would *Ram them* 10
down our Throats (though I doubt they would *stick in our Stomachs*) but which ever of these Reports is True or False, it is no Concern of ours. For *in this Point* we have nothing to do with *English Ministers*, and I should be sorry it lay in their Power to *Redress* this Grievance or to *Enforce* it: For the *Report of the Committee* hath given me a *Surfeit*. The Remedy is wholly in your own Hands, and therefore I have digressed a little in order to refresh and continue that *Spirit* so seasonably raised amongst you, and to let you see that by the *Laws of* 20
 GOD, of NATURE, of NATIONS, and of your own Country, you ARE and OUGHT to be as FREE a People as your Brethren in *England*.

If the Pamphlets published at *London* by *Wood* and his *Journey-men* in Defence of his Cause, were Reprinted here, and that our Country-men could be persuaded to Read them, they would convince you of his wicked Design more than all I shall ever be able to say. In short I make him a perfect *Saint* in Comparison of what he appears to be from the Writings of those 30
 whom he *Hires* to Justifie his *Project*. But he is so far *Master of the Field* (*let others guess the Reason*) that no *London Printer* dare publish any Paper written in

15 it lay] to lay it '25, '30 to leave it '35

* Mr. Walpole, now Sir Robert. '35

Favour of *Ireland*, and here no body hath yet been so bold as to Publish any thing in *Favour* of *him*.

There was a few Days ago a Pamphlet sent me of near 50 Pages Written in Favour of Mr. *Wood* and his Coynage, Printed in *London*, it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here: But it gave me an Occasion to reflect upon an Unhappiness we lye under, that the People of *England* are utterly Ignorant of our Case, which however is no
10 wonder, since it is a Point they do not in the least concern themselves about, farther than perhaps as a Subject of Discourse in a Coffee-House when they have nothing else to talk of. For I have Reason to believe that no Minister ever gave himself the Trouble of Reading any Papers Written in our Defence, because I suppose *their Opinions are already determined*, and are formed wholly upon the Reports of *Wood* and his Accomplices; else it would be impossible that any Man could have the Impudence to write such a Pamphlet as
20 I have mentioned.

Our *Neighbours whose Understandings are just upon a Level with Ours* (which perhaps are none of the *Brightest*) have a strong Contempt for most Nations, but especially for *Ireland*: They look upon Us as a Sort of *Savage Irish*, whom our Ancestors conquered several hundred Years ago, and if I should describe the *Britains* to you as they were in *Cæsar's* Time, when they *Painted their Bodies, or cloathed themselves with the Skins of Beasts*, I would act full as reasonably as they do: How-
30 ever they are so far to be excused in Relation to the present Subject, that, hearing only *one Side of the Cause*, and having neither Opportunity nor Curiosity to examine the *Other*, they *believe a Lye* merely for their Ease, and conclude, because Mr. *Wood* pretends to have *Power*, he hath also *Reason* on his Side.

Therefore to let you see how this Case is represented

in *England* by *Wood* and his Adherents, I have thought it proper to extract out of that Pamphlet a few of those Notorious Falshoods in Point of *Fact* and *Reasoning* contained therein; the Knowledge whereof will confirm my Country-men in their *Own* Right Sentiments, when they will see by comparing both, how much their *Enemies are in the Wrong*.

First, The Writer positively asserts, *That Wood's Half-pence were Current among us for several Months with the universal Approbation of all People, without one single* 10 *Gain-sayer, and we all to a Man thought our selves Happy in having them.*

Secondly, He affirms, *That we were drawn into a Dislike of them only by some Cunning Evil designing Men among us, who opposed this Patent of Wood to get another for themselves.*

Thirdly, *That those who most declared at first against Wood's Patent were the very Men who intended to get another for their own Advantage.*

Fourthly, *That our Parliament and Privy Council, the* 20 *Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, the Grand-Juries and Merchants, and in short the whole Kingdom, nay the very Dogs (as he expresseth it) were fond of those Half pence, till they were inflamed by those few designing Persons aforesaid.*

Fifthly, He says directly, *That all those who opposed the Half-pence were Papists and Enemies to King George.*

Thus far I am confident the most Ignorant among you can safely swear from your own Knowledge that the Author is a most notorious Lyar in every Article; 30 the direct contrary being so manifest to the whole Kingdom, that if Occasion required, we might get it confirmed *under Five hundred thousand Hands.*

Sixthly, He would persuade us, *That if we sell Five Shillings worth of our Goods or Manufactures for Two*

Shillings and Four Pence worth of Copper, although the Copper were melted Down, and that we could get Five Shillings in Gold or Silver for the said Goods, yet to take the said Two Shillings and Four Pence in Copper would be greatly for our Advantage.

And Lastly, He makes us a very fair Offer, as empowered by *Wood*, That if we will take off Two hundred thousand Pounds in his Half-pence for our Goods, and likewise pay him Three per Cent. Interest for Thirty Years,
 10 for an Hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds (at which he computes the Coynage above the Intrinsick Value of the Copper) for the Loan of his Coyn, he will after that Time give us good Money for what Half-pence will be then left.

Let me place this offer in as Clear a Light as I can to shew the unsupportable Villany and Impudence of that incorrigible Wretch. First (says he) *I will send Two hundred thousand Pounds of my Coyn into your Country, the Copper I compute to be in Real Value Eighty thousand Pounds, and I charge you with an Hundred and Twenty*
 20 *thousand Pounds for the Coynage; so that you see I lend you an Hundred and Twenty thousand Pounds for Thirty Years, for which you shall pay me Three per Cent. That is to say Three thousand Six hundred Pounds per Ann. which in Thirty Years will amount to an Hundred and Eight thousand Pounds. And when these Thirty Years are expired, return me my Copper and I will give you Good Money for it.*

This is the Proposal made to us by *Wood* in that Pamphlet Written by one of his Commissioners; and the
 30 Author is supposed to be the same Infamous *Coleby* one of his Under-Swearers at the Committee of Council, who was tryed for Robbing the Treasury here, where he was an Under Clerk.

By this Proposal he will first receive Two hundred thousand Pounds, in Goods or Sterling for as much

Copper as he Values at Eighty thousand Pounds, but in Reality not worth Thirty thousand Pounds. Secondly, He will receive for Interest an Hundred and Eight thousand Pounds. And when our Children come Thirty Years hence to return his Half-pence upon his Executors (for before that Time He will be probably gone to his own Place) those Executors will very reasonably reject them as Raps and Counterfeits, which probably they will be, and Millions of them of his own Coynage.

10

Methinks I am fond of such a *Dealer* as this who mends every Day upon our Hands, like a *Dutch* Reckoning, where if you dispute the Unreasonableness and Exorbitance of the Bill, the Landlord shall bring it up every Time with new Additions.

Although these and the like Pamphlets publish'd by *Wood* in *London* be altogether unknown here, where no body could Read them without as much *Indignation* as *Contempt* would allow, yet I thought it proper to give you a Specimen how the *Man* employs his Time, where 20 he Rides alone without one Creature to contradict him, while OUR FEW FRIENDS there wonder at our Silence, and the *English* in general, if they think of this Matter at all, impute our Refusal to *Wilfulness* or *Disaffection*, just as *Wood* and his *Hirelings* are pleased to represent.

But although our Arguments are not suffered to be Printed in *England*, yet the Consequence will be of little Moment. Let *Wood* endeavour to *Persuade* the People *There* that we ought to *Receive* his Coyn, and 30 let me *Convince* our People *Here* that they ought to *Reject* it under Pain of our utter Undoing. And then let him do his *Best* and his *Worst*.

Before I conclude, I must beg Leave in all Humility

7 to his own Place)] to his own Place) '35
they] which they '35

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8-9 which probably

to tell Mr. *Wood*, that he is guilty of great *Indiscretion*, by causing so Honourable a Name as that of Mr. W—— to be mentioned so often, and in such a Manner, upon his Occasion: A short Paper Printed at *Bristol* and Re-printed here reports Mr. *Wood* to say, that he *wonders at the Impudence and Insolence of the Irish in refusing his Coyn, and what he will do when Mr. W—— comes to Town*. Where, by the Way, he is mistaken, for it is the *True English People of Ireland*
 10 who refuse it, although we take it for granted that the *Irish* will do so too whenever they are asked. He orders it to be Printed in another Paper, that Mr. W—— *will cram this Brass down our Throats*: Sometimes it is given out that we must *either take these Half pence or eat our Brogues*, And, in another News Letter but of Yesterday, we Read that the same great Man *hath sworn to make us swallow his Coyn in Fire-Balls*.

This brings to my Mind the known Story of a *Scotchman*, who receiving Sentence of Death, with all the
 20 Circumstances of *Hanging, Beheading, Quartering, Embowelling* and the like, cried out, *What need all this COOKERY*: And I think we have Reason to ask the same Question; for if we believe *Wood*, here is a *Dinner* getting ready for us, and you see the *Bill of Fare*, and I am sorry the Drink was forgot, which might easily be supply'd with *Melted Lead and Flaming Pitch*.

What Vile Words are these to put into the Mouth of a great Councillor, in high Trust with his Majesty, and looked upon as a prime Minister. If Mr. *Wood*
 30 hath no better a Manner of representing his Patrons, when I come to be a *Great Man*, he shall never be suffered to attend at my *Levee*. This is not the Style

3 W——] *Walpole* '35 8 W——] *Walpole* '35 11-13
 He orders it to be Printed in another Paper, that Mr. W—— *will cram this*] In another printed Paper of his contriving, it is roundly expressed, that Mr. *Walpole* will *cram his* '35

of a Great Minister, it savours too much of the *Kettle* and the *Furnace*, and came entirely out of Mr. *Wood's Forge*.

As for the Threat of making us *eat our Brogues*, we need not be in Pain; for if his Coyn should pass, that *Unpolite Covering for the Feet* would no longer be a *National Reproach*; because then we should have neither *Shoe* nor *Brogue* left in the Kingdom. But here the Falshood of Mr. *Wood* is fairly detected; for I am confident Mr. W—— never heard of a *Brogue* in his 10 whole Life.

As to *Swallowing these Half-pence in Fire-Balls*, it is a Story equally improbable. For to execute this *Operation* the whole Stock of Mr. *Wood's* Coyn and Metal must be melted down and molded into hollow *Balls* with *Wild-fire*, no bigger than a *Reasonable Throat* can be able to swallow. Now the Metal he hath prepared, and already coyned will amount to at least Fifty Millions of Half-pence to be *Swallowed* by a Million and a Half of People; so that allowing Two 20 Half-pence to each *Ball*, there will be about Seventeen *Balls* of *Wild-fire* a-piece to be swallowed by every Person in this Kingdom, and to administer this Dose, there cannot be conveniently Fewer than Fifty thousand *Operators*, allowing one *Operator* to every Thirty, which, considering the *Squeamishness* of some Stomachs and the *Peevishness* of *Young Children*, is but reasonable. Now, under Correction of better Judgments, I think the Trouble and Charge of such an Experiment would exceed the Profit, and therefore I take this 30 *Report* to be *Spurious*, or at least only a new *Scheme* of Mr. *Wood* himself, which to make it pass the better in Ireland he would Father upon a *Minister of State*.

But I will now demonstrate beyond all Contradiction

2 of Mr. *Wood's*] of *Wood's* '35
23 this Kingdom,] the Kingdom: '35

10 W——] *Walpole* '35

that Mr. W—— is against this Project of Mr. *Wood*, and is an entire Friend to *Ireland*, only by this one invincible Argument, that he has the Universal Opinion of being a Wise Man, an able Minister, and in all his Proceedings pursuing the *True Interest* of the *King* his Master: And that as his *Integrity* is above all *Corruption*, so is his *Fortune* above all *Temptation*. I reckon therefore we are perfectly safe from that *Corner*, and shall never be under the Necessity of Contending
10 with so *Formidable a Power*, but be left to possess our *Brogues* and *Potatoes* in *Peace* as * *Remote from Thunder* as *we are from Jupiter*.

I am,

My Dear Country-men,

Oct. 13. 1724.

Your Loving Fellow-Subject, Fellow-Sufferer and Humble Servant.

M. B.

1 W——] *Walpole* '35

* *Procul à Jove, procul à fulmine.* '35

SEASONABLE ADVICE

Since a *Bill* is preparing for the *Grand-Jury*, to find against the Printer of the *Drapier's last Letter*, there are several things maturely to be considered by those Gentlemen, before whom this *Bill* is to come, before they determine upon it.

FIRST, they are to consider, that the Author of the said Pamphlet, did write three other discourses on the same Subject; which instead of being censur'd were
10 universally approv'd by the whole Nation, and were allow'd to have raised, and continu'd that *Spirit* among us, which hitherto hath kept out *Woods's* Coin: For all Men will allow, that if those Pamphlets had not been writ, his Coin must have Over-run the Nation some Months ago.

SECONDLY, it is to be considered that this Pamphlet, against which a *Proclamation* hath been Issu'd, is writ by the *same Author*; that no body ever doubted the Innocence, and Goodness of his design, that he
20 appears through the whole Tenor of it, to be a *Loyal Subject* to His Majesty, and devoted to the House of *Hanover*, and declares himself in a manner peculiarly zealous against the *Pretender*; And if such a Writer in Four several Treatises on so *nice* a Subject, where a *Royal Patent* is concern'd, and where it was necessary to speak of *England* and of *Liberty*, should in one or two places happen to let fall an *Inadvertent* Expression, it would be hard to Condemn him after all the good he hath done; Especially when we consider, that he cou'd
30 have no possible design in view, either of *Honour* or *Profit*, but purely THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY.

1 SEASONABLE ADVICE] Seasonable ADVICE to the Grand Jury, concerning the Bill preparing against the Printer of the preceding Letter. '30, '35 5 before whom this Bill is to come,] omitted '35
13 allow,] grant, '35

THIRDLY, it ought to be well considered, whether any one Expression in the said Pamphlet, be really liable to *just* Exception, much less to be found *Wicked, Malicious, Seditious, reflecting upon His Majesty and his Ministry, &c.*

The two Points in that Pamphlet, which it is said the Prosecutors intend chiefly to fix on, are, First where the Author mentions the *Penner of the King's Answer*. First, it is well known, His Majesty is not Master of the *English* Tongue, and therefore it is necessary that 10 some other Person should be employ'd to *Pen* what he hath to say, or Write in that Language. Secondly, His Majesty's Answer is not in the first Person, but the third. It is not said *we are concerned*, or, *Our Royal Predecessors*, but *His Majesty is concern'd*; and, *His Royal Predecessors*. By which it is plain these are properly not the Words of His Majesty; but suppos'd to be taken from him, and Transmitted hither by one of His Ministers. Thirdly it will be easily seen, that the 20 Author of the Pamphlet delivers his sentiments upon this Particular, with the utmost Caution and Respect, as any impartial Reader will observe.

The second Paragraph, which it is said will be taken Notice of as a Motive to find the *Bill*, is, what the Author says of *Ireland* being a *Depending Kingdom*. He explains all the *Dependancy* he knows of it, which is a Law made in *Ireland*, whereby it is Enacted that *whoever is King of England, shall be King of Ireland*. Before this Explanation be condemned, and the *Bill* found upon it, it would be proper, that some *Lawyers* 30 should fully Inform the *Jury*, what other *Law* there is, either *Statute* or *Common* for this *Dependancy*, and if there be *no Law, there is no Transgression*.

The Fourth thing very maturely to be considered by the *Jury*, is, what Influence their finding the *Bill* may 25 *Depending*] *dependent* '25, '30, '35 26 of it, which] of; which '35

have upon the Kingdom. The People in general find no fault in the *Drapier's* last Book, any more than in the three former, and therefore when they hear it is condemned by a *Grand-Jury* of *Dublin*, they will conclude it is done in Favour of *Woods's* Coin, they will think we of this Town have chang'd our minds, and intend to take those Halfpence, and therefore that it will be in vain for them to stand out. So that the Question comes to this, which will be of the worst Consequence, to let
 10 pass one or two Expressions, at the worst only *unwary*, in a Book written for the Publick Service; or to leave a free open Passage for *Wood's* Brass to over-run us, by which we shall be undone for ever.

The fifth thing to be considered, is, that the Members of the *Grand Jury* being Merchants, and Principal Shop-keepers, can have no *Suitable Temptation* offer'd them, as a Recompence for the mischief they will suffer by letting in this Coyn, nor can be at any *Loss* or *Danger* by rejecting the *Bill*: They do not expect any *Employ-*
 20 *ments* in the *State*, to make up in their own private Advantage, the Destruction of their Country. Whereas those who go about to *Advise*, *Entice*, or *Threaten* them to find that *Bill*, have great Employments, which they have a mind to keep, or to get *greater*, which was likewise the Case of all those who *Sign'd* to have the Author Prosecuted. And therefore it is known, that His Grace the Ld. Arch-Bp. of *Dublin*, so Renown'd for his Piety, and Wisdom, and Love of his Country, absolutely refused to condemn the *Book*, or the *Author*.

30 Lastly, it ought to be considered what Consequence the finding the *Bill*, may have upon a poor Man *perfectly Innocent*, I mean the *Printer*. A Lawyer may *pick* out Expressions and make them Liable to Exception,

17 they will suffer] they will do, and suffer '35 21 Advantage,
 the] Advantage, by the '35 24 which was] as it was '35 25 *Sign'd*
 to] signed the Proclamation, to '35

where no other Man is able to find any. But how can it be suppos'd, that an Ignorant *Printer* can be such a *Critick*; He knew the Author's design was honest, and approv'd by the whole Kingdom, He advised with Friends, who told him there was no harm in the Book, and he cou'd see none Himself. It was sent him in an unknown Hand, but the same in which He receiv'd the three former. He and his Wife have offer'd to take their Oaths that they knew not the Author; and therefore to find a *Bill*, that may bring a Punishment upon the *Innocent*, will appear *very hard*, to say no worse. For it will be impossible to find the Author, unless he will please to discover himself, although I wonder he ever conceal'd his Name. But I suppose what he did at first out of *Modesty*, he now continues to do out of Prudence. God Protect Us and Him.

I will conclude all with a Fable, ascrib'd to *Demosthenes*, He had served the People of *Athens* with great Fidelity in the Station of an *Orator*, when upon a certain occasion, apprehending to be delivered over to His *Enemies*, He told the *Athenians*, his Countrymen, the following Story. Once upon a time the *Wolves* desired a League with the *Shepherds*, upon this Condition; that the Cause of strife might be taken away, which was the *Shepherds* and *Mastiffs*; this being granted, the *Wolves* without all Fear made Havock of the *Sheep*.

Novem. 11th 1724.

FINIS.

15 he now continues] he continues '25, '30, '35

An *Extract out of a Book, Entituled, an exact
Collection of the Debates of the House of Com-
mons held at *Westminster*, October 21. 1680.
Pag. 150.

RESOLUTIONS of the House of Commons in
England, Nov. the 13th 1680.

Several Persons being examin'd about the Dismissing
a Grand-Jury in Middlesex, the House came to the
following *Resolutions*.

10 **R**ESOLVED, That the Discharging of a Grand-
Jury by any Judge, before the end of the Term,
Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are under their
Consideration, and not presented, is Arbitrary, Illegal,
destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of
his Oath, and is a means to Subvert the Fundamental
Laws of this Kingdom.

RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed to
examine the Proceedings of the Judges in *Westminster-
Hall*, and Report the same with their Opinion therein
20 to this House.

I out of] of '30, '35

* *The Evening before the Tryal,*
Copies of the preceding Paper were
conveyed to every Person of the
Grand-Jury; who, moved by the
Reasons contained in the said
Paper, would not find the Bill;
whereupon, the Chief Justice

Whitshed dissolved the Jury in a
Rage: After which, the following
Extract was published, and dis-
persed about the Town, to shew the
Illegality of the said Whitshed's
Proceeding. '35

*THE PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND-
JURY OF THE COUNTY OF THE CITY
OF DUBLIN

WHEREAS several great quantities of base Mettal
Coyn'd, Commonly call'd **Wood's** Half-Pence,
have been brought into the Port of *Dublin*, and lodg'd
in several Houses of this City, with an Intention to
make them pass Clandestinely, among his Majesty's
Subjects of this Kingdom; Notwithstanding the
10 Addresses of both Houses of Parliament and the
Privy Council, and the Declarations of most of the
Corporations of this City against the said Coyn; AND
WHEREAS His Majesty hath been graciously
pleas'd to leave his loyal Subjects of this Kingdom at
Liberty to take or refuse the said Half-pence.

WE the GRAND-JURY of the County of the City
of *Dublin*, this *Michaelmas Term*, 1724. Having entirely
at Heart his Majesty's Interest and the Welfare of our
Country, and being thoroughly sensible of the great
20 Discouragement which Trade hath Suffer'd by the
Apprehensions of the said Coin, whereof we have
already felt the dismal effects, and that the Currency
thereof will inevitably tend to the great diminution of
his Majesty's Revenue, and the Ruin of Us and Our
Posterity: DO PRESENT all such Persons as have
attempted, or shall endeavour by fraud or otherwise, to
Impose the said Half-pence upon Us, contrary to his
Majesty's most Gracious Intentions, as Enemies to his
Majesty's Government, and to the Safety, Peace and
30 Welfare of all his Majesty's Subjects of this Kingdom,
whose affections have been so eminently distinguish'd

* In about a Month after the Proclamation was published, offering three Hundred Pounds Reward for discovering the Author of the preceding Letter, the following Paper was published. '35

by their Zeal to his Illustrious Family, before his happy Accession to the Throne, and by their continued Loyalty ever since.

AS we do with all just Gratitude acknowledge the services of all such *PATRIOTS*, as have been eminently ZEALOUS for the Interest of his Majesty, and this Country, in detecting the Fraudulent Impositions of the said *Wood*, and preventing the Passing his base Coin: So we do at the same Time Declare Our Abhor-
 rance and Detestation of all Reflections on his Majesty, ¹⁰
 and his Government, and that we are ready with our Lives and Fortunes to defend his most Sacred Majesty against the Pretender and all his Majesty's open and secret Enemies both at home and abroad: Given under our Hands at the Grand Jury Chamber this 28th,
November, 1724.

George Forbes,
 William Empson,
 Nathaniel Pearson,
 Joseph Nuttall,
 William Aston,
 Stearn Tighe,
 Richard Walker,
 Edmond French,
 John Vereilles,
 Philip Pearson,
 Thomas Robins,
 Richard Dawson,

David Tew,
 Thomas How,
 John Jones,
 James Brown, ²⁰
 Charles Lyndon,
 Jerom Bredin,
 John Sican,
 Anthony Brunton,
 Thomas Gaven,
 Daniel Elwood,
 John Brunet

A
L E T T E R

To the Right Honourable the
Lord Viscount *Molesworth*.

By *M. B. Drapier*, Author of the Letter
to the *Shop-keepers*, &c.

They compassed me about also with Words of
Deceit, and fought against me without a Cause.

For my Love they are my Adversaries, but I give
my self unto Prayer.

And they have rewarded me Evil for Good, and
Hatred for my Love. *Psalms* 109. v. 3, 4, 5.

Seek not to be Judge, being not able to take
away Iniquity, lest at any Time thou fear the
Perion of the Mighty, and lay a stumbling
Block in the Way of thy Uprightness.

Offend not against the Multitude of a City, and
then thou shalt not cast thy self down among
the People.

Bind not one Sin upon another, for in One thou
shalt not be Unpunished. *Ecclesi.* Ch. 7. V. 6,
7, 8.

*Non jam prima peto Moxhibens, neque vincere certo :
Quamquam O! Sed Superens, quibus Hoc, Neptune
dedisti.*

D U B L I N :

Printed by John Harding in *Molej-*
worth's Court in Fishamble-street.

DIRECTIONS TO THE PRINTER.

Mr. *Harding*,

WHEN I sent you my former Papers, I cannot say I intended you either *Good* or *Hurt*, and yet you have happened through my Means to receive *Both*. I pray God deliver you from any more of the *Latter*, and increase the *Former*. Your Trade, particularly in this Kingdom, is of all others the most unfortunately Circumstantiated; For as you deal in the most worthless
10 kind of Trash, the Penny Productions of Pennyless Scriblers, so you often venture your Liberty and sometimes your Lives, for the Purchase of Half a Crown, and by your own Ignorance are punished for other Mens Actions.

I am afraid, You in particular think you have Reason to complain of Me for your own and your Wife's Confinement in PRISON, to your great Expence, as well as Hardship, and for a Prosecution still impending. But I will tell you, Mr. *Harding*, how that Matter
20 stands. Since the Press hath layn under so strict an Inspection, those who have a mind to inform the World are become so Cautious, as to keep themselves if possible out of the Way of Danger. My Custom is to Dictate to a 'Prentice who can write in a Feigned Hand, and what is written we send to your House by a Black-guard Boy. But at the same time I do assure you upon my Reputation, that I never did send you any thing, for which I thought you could possibly be called to an Account. And you will be my Witness that I always
30 desired you by a Letter to take some good Advice before you ventured to Print, because I knew the *Dexterity of Dealers in the Law* at finding out something to Fasten on where no Evil is meant; I am told indeed, that you did accordingly consult several very

able Persons, and even *Some* who afterwards *appeared against you*: To which I can only answer, that you must either change your *Advisers*, or determine to Print nothing that comes from a *Drapier*.

I desire you will send the inclosed Letter, directed to my *Lord Viscount Molesworth at his House at Brackdenstown near Swords*; but I would have it sent *Printed* for the Convenience of His Lordship's Reading, because this Counterfeit Hand of my 'Prentice is not very legible. And if you think fit to Publish it, I 10 would have you first get it Read over carefully by some *Notable Lawyer*: I am assured you will find enough of them who are Friends to the *Drapier*, and will do it without a Fee, which I am afraid you can ill afford after all your Expences. For although I have taken so much Care, that I think it impossible to find a Topick out of the following Papers for sending you again to Prison; Yet I will not venture to be your Guarantee.

This ensuing Letter contains only a short Account of my self, and an Humble Apology for my former 20 Pamphlets, especially the *Last*, with little Mention of Mr. *Wood* or his *Half-pence*, because I have already said enough upon that Subject, until Occasion shall be given for *New Fears*; and in that Case you may perhaps hear from me again.

I am,

Your Friend

and Servant,

M. B.

From my Shop in
St. Francis-street
Dec. 14. 1724.

P. S. For want of Intercourse between You and Me, 30 which I never will suffer, your People are apt to make very gross Errors in the Press, which I desire you will provide against.

To the Right Honourable the LORD VISCOUNT
MOLESWORTH, at his House at *Brackdenstown*
near *Swords*.

My LORD,

I Reflect too late on the Maxim of common Ob-
servers, that those who meddle in Matters out of their
Calling, will have Reason to repent; which is now
verified in me: For by engaging in the Trade of a
Writer, I have drawn upon my self the Displeasure of
10 the Government, signified by a *Proclamation* promising
a Reward of Three Hundred Pounds to the first
faithful Subject who shall be able and inclined to
inform against me. To which I may add the laudable
Zeal and Industry of my *Lord Chief Justice* in his
Endeavours to discover so Dangerous a Person. There-
fore whether I repent or no, I have certainly Cause to
do so, and the common Observation still stands good.

It will sometimes happen, I know not how in the
Course of Human Affairs, that a Man shall be made
20 lyable to *Legal Animadversions*, where he has nothing
to answer for, either to *God* or his *Country*; and con-
demned at *Westminster Hall* for what he will never be
charged with at the *Day of Judgment*.

After strictly examining my own Heart, and consult-
ing some Divines of great Reputation, I cannot accuse
my self of any **Malice* or *Wickedness against the Publick*;
of any *Designs to Sow Sedition*, of *reflecting on the King*
and his *Ministers*, or of endeavouring to *alienate the*
Affections of the People of this Kingdom from those of
30 *England*. All I can charge my self with, is a weak
Attempt to serve a Nation in Danger of Destruction by
a most wicked and malicious Projector, without waiting

14 *Chief Justice*] Chief Justice *Whitshed*, '35 .

* *Articles mentioned in the Indictment, and vide the Proclamation.* '35

until I were called to its Assistance; which Attempt, however it may perhaps give me the Title of *Pragmatical* and *Overweening*, will never lye a Burthen upon my Conscience. God knows whether I may not with all my caution have already run my self into Danger, by offering thus much in my own Vindication. For I have heard of a *Judge*, who, upon the Criminal's *Appeal* to the *Dreadful Day of Judgment*, told him he had incurred a *Premunire* for *appealing to a Foreign Jurisdiction*: And of another in *Wales*, who severely checked the Prisoner 10 for offering the same Plea, taxing him with reflecting on the Court by such a Comparison, because *Comparisons were odious*.

But in Order to make some Excuse for being more speculative than others of my Condition, I desire your Lordship's Pardon, while I am doing a very foolish thing, which is, to give you some little Account of my self.

I was bred at a Free-School where I acquired some little Knowledge in the *Latin Tongue*, I served my Apprenticeship in *London*, and there set up for my self 20 with good Success, 'till by the *Death of some Friends, and the Misfortunes of Others*, I returned into this Kingdom, and began to employ my Thoughts in cultivating the *Woollen Manufacture* through all it's Branches. Wherein I met with great Discouragement and Powerful Opposers, whose Objections appeared to me very strange and singular. They argued that the People of *England* would be offended if our Manufactures were brought to *equal* theirs; and even some of the *Weaving Trade* were my Enemies, which I could not but look 30 upon as *absurd* and *unnatural*. I remember your Lordship at that time did me the Honour to come into my Shop, where I shewed you a **Piece of Black and White* 5 Danger,] a second Danger, '35 24 Branches], Branches; '25, '30, '35

* By this is meant, a preceding A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures. '35

Stuff just sent from the *Dyer*, which you were pleased to approve of, and be my Customer for it.

However I was so mortified, that I resolved for the future to sit quietly in my Shop, and Deal in *Common Goods* like the rest of my Brethren. Till it happened some Months ago considering with my self that the *lower and poorer Sort of People* wanted a *plain strong course Stuff* to defend them against cold Easterly Winds, which then blew very fierce and blasting for a long time
10 together, I contrived one on purpose, which sold very well all over the Kingdom, and preserved many Thousands from *Agues*. I then made a **Second* and a *Third* kind of *Stuffs* for the *Gentry* with the same Success, insomuch that an *Ague* hath hardly been heard of for some time.

This incited me so far, that I ventured upon a †*Fourth* Piece made of the best *Irish Wooll* I could get, and I thought it Grave and Rich enough to be worn by the best Lord or Judge of the Land. But of late some *Great Folks* complain as I hear, that when they had it on, they
20 felt a *Shuddering in their Limbs*, and have thrown it off in a Rage, cursing to Hell the poor *Drapier* who invented it, so that I am determined never to *work for Persons of Quality* again, except for your *Lordship* and a very few more.

I assure your Lordship upon the Word of an Honest Citizen, that I am not Richer by the Value of one of Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence with the Sale of all the several *Stuffs* I have contrived; for I give the whole Profit to the *Dyers* and *Pressers*. And therefore I hope you will
30 please to believe, that no other Motive beside the Love of my Country could engage me to busie my Head and Hands to the Loss of my Time and the Gain of nothing but *Vexation* and *Ill Will*.

* Alluding to the *Drapier's* against which the Proclamation
three first Letters. '35 was issued. '35

† Meaning the fourth Letter,

I have now in Hand one *Piece of Stuff* to be woven on purpose for your Lordship, although I might be ashamed to offer it you, after I have confessed that it will be made only from the **Shreds and Remnants of the Wooll employed in the Former*. However I shall *work* it up as well as I can, and at worst, you need only give it among your Tenants.

I am very sensible how ill your Lordship is like to be entertained with the Pedantry of a *Drapier* in the Terms of his own Trade. How will the Matter be mended, 10 when you find me entring again, though very sparingly, into an Affair of State; For such is now grown the Controversie with Mr. *Wood*, if *some great Lawyers* are to be Credited. And as it often happens at Play, that Men begin with *Farthings*, and go on to *Gold*, till some of them lose their Estates and dye in Jayl; so it may possibly fall out in my Case, that by *playing* too long with Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence, I may be drawn in to pay a *Fine*, double to the Reward for *Betraying* me, be sent to Prison, and *not to be delivered thence 'till I shall have* 20 *payed the uttermost Farthing*.

There are my Lord, three sorts of Persons with whom I am resolved never to dispute; A *High-way-man* with a Pistol at my Breast, a *Troop of Dragoons* who come to plunder my House, and a *Man of the Law* who can make a *Merit* of accusing Me. In each of these Cases, *which are almost the same*, the best Method is to *keep out of the Way*, and the next Best is to *deliver your Money, surrender your House, and confess nothing*.

I am told that the two Points in my last Letter, from 30 which an Occasion of Offence hath been taken, are where I mention his Majesty's Answer to the Address of the House of Lords upon Mr. *Wood's* Patent, and

3 you,] to you, '35

* *Meaning the present Letter.* '35

where I discourse upon *Ireland's* being a *Dependent Kingdom*. As to the Former, I can only say, that I have treated it with the utmost Respect and Caution, and I thought it necessary to shew where *Wood's* Patent differed in many essential Parts from all others that ever had been Granted, because the contrary had for want of due Information been so strongly and so largely asserted. As to the other, of *Ireland's* *Dependency*, I confess to have often heard it mentioned, but was never
 10 able to understand what it meant. This gave me the Curiosity to enquire among several Eminent Lawyers, who professed they knew nothing of the Matter. I then turned over all the Statutes of both Kingdoms without the least Information, further than an *Irish* Act that I quoted of the 33d, of *Henry* 8th, uniting *Ireland* to *England* under one King. I cannot say I was sorry to be disappointed in my Search, because it is certain, I could be *contented* to *depend* only upon *God* and my *Prince* and the *Laws* of my own Country, after the Manner
 20 of other Nations. But since my *Betters* are of a *Different* Opinion, and desire further Dependencies, I shall readily submit, not insisting on the *Exception* I made of *M. B. Drapier*. For indeed that Hint was borrowed from an Idle Story I had heard in *England*, which perhaps may be common and beaten, but because it *insinuates* neither *Treason* nor *Sedition*, I will just barely relate it.

Some Hundred Years ago when the Peers were so great that the Commons were looked upon as little better than their *Dependents*, a Bill was brought in for
 30 making some new Additions to the Power and Privileges of the Peerage. After it was read, one Mr. *Drue* a Member of the House, stood up, and said, he very much approved the Bill, and would give his Vote to have it Pass; but however, for some Reasons best

21-2 readily submit, not insisting on] outwardly submit; yet still insisting in my own Heart, upon '35 23 For indeed] Indeed '35

known to himself, he desired that a Clause might be inserted for *excepting the Family of the Drues*. The Odness of the Proposition taught others to reflect a little, and the Bill was thrown out.

Whether I were mistaken, or WENT TOO FAR in examining the *Dependency* must be left to the impartial Judgment of the World, as well as to the Courts of Judicature, although indeed not in so *effectual* and *decisive a Manner*. But to affirm, as I hear some do, in order to countenance a fearful and servile Spirit, that 10 this Point did not *belong to my Subject*, is a False and Foolish Objection. There were several Scandalous Reports industriously spread by *Wood* and his Accomplices to discourage all Opposition against his Infamous Project. They gave it out that we were prepared for a *Rebellion*, that we disputed the King's *Prerogative*, and were shaking off our *Dependency*. The first went so far, and obtained so much Belief against the most visible Demonstrations to the contrary, that a great Person of this Kingdom, now in *England*, sent over such an 20 Account of it to his Friends, as would make any good Subject both grieve and tremble. I thought it therefore necessary to treat that Calumny as it deserved. Then I proved by an invincible Argument that we could have no Intention to dispute his Majesty's *Prerogative*, because the *Prerogative* was not concerned in the Question, the Civilians and Lawyers of all Nations agreeing that *Copper is not Money*. And lastly to clear us from the Imputation of shaking off our *Dependency*; I shewed wherein as I thought this *Dependency* consisted, 30 and Cited the Statute abovementioned made in *Ireland*, by which it is enacted, that *whoever is King of England shall be King of Ireland*, and that the Two Kingdoms shall be *for ever knit together under one King*. This, as I conceived, did wholly acquit us of Intending to break

30 wherein as I thought] wherein I thought, and shall ever think,' 35

our *Dependency*, because it was altogether out of our Power, for surely no King of *England* will ever consent to the Repeal of that Statute.

But upon this Article I am charged with a heavier Accusation. It is said I WENT TOO FAR, when I declared, that *if ever the Pretender should come to be fixed upon the Throne of England (which God forbid) I would so far venture to transgress this Statute, that I would lose the last Drop of my Blood before I would submit to him as*
10 *King of Ireland.*

This I hear on all Sides, is the strongest and weightiest Objection against me, and which hath given the most Offence; that I should be so bold to declare against a direct Statute, and that any Motive how strong so ever, could make me reject a King whom *England* should receive. Now if in defending my self from this Accusation I should freely confess, that I WENT TOO FAR, that the Expression was very indiscreet, although occasioned by my Zeal for his present Majesty and his
20 Protestant Line in the House of *Hanover*, That I shall be careful never to offend again in the like Kind. And that I hope this free Acknowledgment and Sorrow for my Error, will be some Attonement and a little soften the Hearts of my Powerful Adversaries. I say if I should offer such a Defence as this, I do not doubt but some People would wrest it to an ill Meaning by some spiteful Interpretation, and therefore since I cannot think of any other Answer, which that Paragraph can admit, I will leave it to the Mercy of every Candid
30 Reader.

I will now venture to tell your Lordship a Secret, wherein I fear you are too deeply concerned. You will therefore please to know that this Habit of Writing and Discoursing, wherein I unfortunately differ from

3 that] this '25, '30, '35 26-7 some spiteful] a spiteful '35
30 Reader.] Reader; but still without recanting my own Opinion. '35

almost the whole Kingdom, and am apt to Grate the Ears of more than I could wish was acquired during my Apprenticeship in *London*, and a long Residence there after I had set up for my self. Upon my Return and Settlement here, I thought I had only *changed one Country of Freedom for another*. I had been long conversing with the Writings of your Lordship, Mr. *Lock*, Mr. *Molineaux*, Collonel *Sidney* and other Dangerous Authors, who talk of *Liberty as a Blessing, to which the whole Race of Mankind hath an original Title, whereof* 10 *nothing but unlawful Force can divest them*. I knew a good deal of the several *Gothick* Institutions in *Europe*, and by what Incidents and Events they came to be destroyed; and I ever thought it the most uncontrolled and universally agreed Maxim, that *Freedom consists in a People being Governed by Laws made with their own Consent, and Slavery in the Contrary*. I have been likewise told, and believe it to be true, that *Liberty and Property* are Words of known Use and Signification in this Kingdom, and that the very *Lawyers* pretend to 20 understand, and have them often in their Mouths. These were the Errors which have misled me, and to which alone I must impute the severe Treatment I have received. But I shall in Time grow *Wiser*; and learn to consider my *Driver*, the *Road I am in*, and *with whom I am Yoked*. This I will venture to say, that the boldest and most obnoxious Words I ever delivered, would in *England* have only exposed me as a stupid Fool, who went to prove that *the Sun shone in a Clear Summers Day*; and I have Witnesses ready to depose that your Lord- 30 ship hath said and writ Fifty times worse, and what is still an Aggravation, with infinitely more Wit and Learning, and stronger Arguments, so that as Politicks run, I do not know a Person of more exceptionable Principles that Yourself; and if ever I shall be dis-

covered, I think you will be bound in Honour to pay my Fine and support me in Prison; or else I may chance to *Inform* against you by Way of *Reprisal*.

In the mean time, I beg your Lordship to receive my Confession, that if there be any such thing as a *Dependency* of *Ireland* upon *England*, otherwise than as I have explained it, either by the *Law of God*, of *Nature*, of *Reason*, of *Nations*, or of the *Land* (which I shall never hereafter contest,) then was the *Proclamation* against
10 me, the most *Merciful* that ever was put out, and instead of accusing me as *Malicious*, *Wicked* and *Seditious*, it might have been directly as *Guilty of High-Treason*.

All I desire is, that the Cause of my Country against Mr. *Wood* may not suffer by any Inadvertancy of mine; Whether *Ireland* depend upon *England*, or only upon *God*, the *King* and the *Law*, I hope no Man will assert that it *depends* upon Mr. *Wood*. I should be heartily sorry that this *Commendable* Resentment against me should accidentally (and *I hope*, what was never in-
20 tended) strike a Damp upon that Spirit in all Ranks and Corporations of Men against the desperate and Ruinous Design of Mr. *Wood*. Let my Countrymen blot out those Parts in my last Letter which they dislike, and let no *Rust* remain on my *Sword* to cure the Wounds I have given to our most Mortal Enemy. When Sir *Charles Sidley* was taking the Oaths, where several Things were to be *Renounced*, he said he loved *Renouncing*, asked if any more were to be *Renounced*, for he was ready to *Renounce* as much as they pleased. Although I am not
30 so thorough a *Renouncer*; yet let me have but *Good City Security* against this Pestilent Coynage, and I shall be ready not only to *Renounce* every Syllable in all my Four Letters, but deliver them chearfully with my own *Hands* into those of the *Common Hang-Man*, to be burnt

8-9 (which I shall never hereafter contest,)] (which I shall die rather than grant) '35

with no better Company than the *Coyner's Effigies*, if any Part of it hath escaped out of the *Secular Hands* of the *Rabble*.

But whatever the Sentiments of *some People* may be, I think it is agreed that many of those who *Subscribed* against me, are on the Side of a vast Majority in the Kingdom who opposed Mr. *Wood*; and it was with great Satisfaction that I observed some *Right Honourable Names* very *amicably* joined with my own at the Bottom of a *strong Declaration* against Him and his *10* *Coy*n. But if the Admission of it among us be *already determined* the *Worthy Person* who is to *Betray* me ought in Prudence to do it with all convenient Speed, or else it may be difficult to find Three hundred Pounds in *Sterling* for the Discharge of his *Hire*; when the Publick shall have lost Five hundred Thousand, if there be so much in the Nation, besides Four Fifths of its Annual Income for ever.

I am told by Lawyers, that in all Quarrels between Man and Man, it is of much Weight, which of them *20* gave the first Provocation or struck the first Blow. It is manifest that Mr. *Wood* hath done Both, and therefore I should humbly propose to have him first *Hanged* and his *Dross* thrown into the Sea; after which the *Drapier* will be ready to stand his Tryal. *It must needs be that Offences come, but Wo unto him by whom the Offence cometh.* If Mr. *Wood* had held his *Hand* every body else would have held their *Tongues*, and then there would have been little Need of *Pamphlets, Juries, or Proclamations* upon this Occasion. The Provocation must needs *30* have been Great, which could stir up an obscure indolent *Drapier* to become an *Author*. One would almost think the very *Stones* in the Street would *Rise up* in such a Cause: And I am not sure they will not *do so*

2-3 the *Rabble*] my faithful Friends the common People. '35
19 in all Quarrels] in Quarrels '25, '30, '35

against Mr. *Wood* if ever he comes within their Reach. It is a known Story of the Dumb Boy, whose Tongue forced a Passage for Speech by the Horrour of seeing a Dagger at his Father's Throat. This may lessen the Wonder that a Tradesman hid in Privacy and Silence should *cry out* when the Life and Being of his Political *Mother* are attempted before his Face, and by so infamous a Hand.

But in the mean time, Mr. *Wood* the *Destroyer* of
 10 a Kingdom walks about in Triumph (unless it be true that he is in Jayl for Debt) while he who endeavoured to assert the *Liberty of his Country* is forced to *hide his Head* for occasionally dealing in a Matter of *Controversy*. However I am not the first who hath been condemned to Death for *gaining a great Victory* over a Powerful Enemy, by disobeying for *once* the strict Orders of Military Discipline.

I am now resolved to follow (after the usual Proceeding of Mankind, because it is too late) the Advice
 20 given me by a certain **Dean*. He shewed the Mistake I was in of trusting to the general Good Will of the People, that I had succeeded hitherto better than could be expected, but that some Unfortunate *Circumstantial Lapse* would probably bring me within the Reach of *Power*. That my good Intentions would be no Security against *those who watched every Motion of my Pen, in the Bitterness of my Soul*. He produced an Instance of a Writer as Innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as my self, where the *Printer*, who had the

28 Writer] Person '35 29-p. 112, l. 2 myself, where the *Printer*, . . . utmost Zeal,] my self; who had written a †very seasonable and in-offensive Treatise, exhorting the People of this Kingdom to wear their own Manufactures; for which, however, the Printer was prosecuted with the utmost Virulence; '35

* The Author, it is supposed, again; in the Discourse advising means himself. '35 the People of Ireland to wear their

† The Author means himself own Manufactures. '35

Author in his Power, was prosecuted with the utmost Zeal, the *Jury sent back Nine Times*, and the Man given up to the Mercy of the Court. The *Dean* further observed that I was in a manner left alone to stand the *Battle*, while others who had ten Thousand times better Talents than a *Drapier*, were so prudent to lye still, and perhaps thought it no unpleasant Amusement to look on with Safety, while another was giving them *Diversion* at the Hazard of his Liberty and Fortune, and thought they made a sufficient Recompence by a little Applause, ¹⁰ whereupon he concluded with a short Story of a *Jew* at *Madrid*, who being condemned to the Fire on Account of his Religion, a Crowd of Schoolboys following him to the Stake, and apprehending they might lose their *Sport*, if he should happen to recant, would often *clap him on the Back*, and cry, *Sta firme Moyese* (*Moses, continue stedfast.*)

I allow this Gentleman's Advice to have been Good, and his Observations just, and in one Respect my Condition is worse than that of the *Jew*, for *no Recantation* ²⁰ *will save me*. However it should seem by *some late Proceedings*, that my State is not altogether deplorable. This I can impute to nothing but the Steadiness of *two impartial Grandjuries*, which hath confirmed in me an Opinion I have long entertained, That, as Philosophers say, *Virtue is seated in the Middle*, so in another Sense, the little *Virtue* left in the World is chiefly to be found among the *middle Rank* of Mankind, who are neither *allured* out of her Paths by *Ambition*, nor *Driven* by *Poverty*. 30

Since the *Proclamation* occasioned by my last Letter, and a *Due Preparation* for proceeding against me in a Court of Justice, there have been two Printed Papers clandestinely spread about, whereof no Man is able to trace the Original further than by *Conjecture*, which

18 been Good,] been very good, '35

with it's usual Charity lays them to my Account. The former is entitled *Seasonable Advice*, and appears to have been intended for Information of the Grand-Jury, upon the Supposition of a Bill to be prepared against that Letter. The Other is an Extract from a Printed Book of Parliamentary Proceedings in the Year 1680 containing an angry Resolution of the House of Commons in *England* against *dissolving Grand-Jurys*. As to the Former, your Lordship will find it to be the Work of
 10 a more Artful Hand than that of a Common *Drapier*. It hath been censured for endeavouring to influence the Minds of a Jury, which ought to be wholly Free and Unbyassed, and for that Reason *it is manifest* that no Judge was ever known either *upon* or *off* the Bench, either by *himself* or his *Dependents*, to use the *least Insinuation* that might possibly affect the Passions or Interests of any one single *Jury-man*, much less of a whole *Jury*; whereof every Man *must* be *convinced* who will just give himself the Trouble to dip into the
 20 Common Printed Tryals; so as, it is amazing to think, what a Number of *Upright Judges* there have been in both Kingdoms for above *Sixty Years past*, which, considering how long they held their Offices *during Pleasure*, as they *still do among us*, I account next to a *Miracle*.

As to the other Paper I must confess it is a sharp Censure of an *English House of Commons* against *dissolving Grand-Juries* by any Judge before the End of the Term, Assizes, or Sessions, while Matters are
 30 under their Consideration, and not presented, as Arbitrary, Illegal, Destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and as a means to subvert the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.

However the Publisher seems to have been mistaken,

27 Censure of] Censure from '35 (B) 30 Consideration,
 and not presented, as] Consideration; as '35 (B)

in what he aimed at. For, whatever *Dependance* there may be of *Ireland* upon *England*, I hope he would not insinuate, that the Proceedings of a *Lord Chief Justice* in *Ireland* must depend upon a *Resolution* of an *English* House of Commons. Besides, That *Resolution* although it were levelled against a particular Lord Chief Justice, Sir *William Scroggs*, yet the Occasion was directly contrary: For *Scroggs* dissolved the *Grand-Jury* of *London* for fear they should Present, but our's in *Dublin* was dissolved because they would not Present, 10 which wonderfully alters the Case. And therefore a *Second Grand-Jury* supplied that Defect by making a Presentment that hath pleased the whole Kingdom. However I think it is agreed by all Partys, that both the One and the Other *Jury* behaved themselves in such a Manner, as ought to be remembered to their Honour, while there shall be any Regard left among us for *Virtue* or *Publick Spirit*.

I am confident your Lordship will be of my Sentiments in one Thing, that some short plain Authentick 20 Tract might be published for the Information both of *Petty* and *Grand-Jurys*, how far their Power reacheth, and where it is limited, and that a Printed Copy of such a Treatise might be deposited in every Court, to be consulted by the Jurymen before they consider of their Verdict; By which abundance of Inconveniences would be avoided, whereof innumerable Instances might be produced from former Times, because I will say nothing of the Present.

I have read somewhere of an *Eastern King* who put 30 a *Judge* to Death for an iniquitous Sentence, and ordered his *Hide* to be stuffed into a *Cushion*, and placed upon the Tribunal for the Son to sit on, who was preferred to his Father's Office. I fancy such a *Memorial* might not have been unuseful to a Son of Sir *William Scroggs*, and that both he and his Successors would often

wriggle in their Seats as long as the *Cushion* lasted; I wish the Relator had told us what Number of such *Cushions* there might be in that Country.

I cannot but observe to your Lordship how Nice and Dangerous a Point it is grown for a private Person to inform the People even in an Affair where the Publick Interest and Safety are so highly concerned as that of Mr. *Wood*, and this in a Country where *Loyalty* is woven into the very Hearts of the People, seems a little
10 extraordinary. Sir *William Scroggs* was the first who introduced that commendable Accuteness into the Courts of *Judicature*; But how far this Practice hath been imitated by his Successors or strained upon Occasion, is out of my Knowledge. When Pamphlets unpleasing to the Ministry were presented as Libels, he would order the offensive Paragraphs to be read before him, and said it was strange that the Judges and Lawyers of the King's Bench should be Duller than all the People of
20 *England*; And he was often so very happy in applying the Initial Letters of Names, and expounding dubious *Hints* (the two common Expedients among Writers of that Class for escaping the Law) that he discovered much more than ever the Authors intended, as many of them or their Printers found to their Cost. If such Methods are to be followed in examining what I have already written or may write hereafter upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood*, I defy any Man of fifty Times my Understanding and Caution to avoid being entrapped, unless he will be content to write what none will read, by
30 repeating over the old Arguments and Computations, whereof the World is already grown weary. So that my Good Friend *Harding* lyes under this Dilemma, either to let my *Learned Works* hang for ever a drying upon his Lines, or venture to publish them at the Hazard of being laid by the Heels.

I need not tell your Lordship where the Difficulty

lyes; It is true, the King and the Laws *permit* us to refuse this Coyn of Mr. *Wood*, but at the same Time it is equally true, that the King and the Laws *permit* us to receive it. Now it is most certain the Ministers in *England* do not suppose the Consequences of uttering that Brass among us to be so ruinous as we apprehend; because doubtless if they understood it in that Light, they are Persons of too much Honour and Justice not to use their Credit with His Majesty for saving a *most Loyal Kingdom from Destruction*. But as long as it shall please those great Persons to think that Coyn will not be *so very* pernicious to us, we lye under the Disadvantage of being censured as *Obstinate* in not complying with a Royal Patent. Therefore nothing remains, but to make use of that *Liberty* which the *King* and the *Laws* have left us, by continuing to refuse this Coyn, and by frequent Remembrances to keep up that Spirit raised against it, which otherwise may be apt to flag, and perhaps in Time to sink altogether. For, any publick Order against receiving or uttering Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence is not *reasonably* to be expected in this Kingdom, without Directions from *England*, which I think no body presumes, or is so sanguine to hope.

But to confess the Truth, my Lord, I begin to grow weary of my Office as a Writer, and could heartily wish it were devolved upon my *Brethren*, the Makers of *Songs* and *Ballads*, who perhaps are the best qualified at present to gather up the Gleanings of this Controversy. As to my self, it hath been my Misfortune to begin and pursue it upon a wrong Foundation. For having detected the Frauds and Falshoods of this Vile

1 true, the King] true, that the King '25, '30, '35 4 most
 certain] *barely possible*, that '35 5 do] may '35 7 doubt-
 less] perhaps, '35 8-9 are Persons of too much Honour and
 Justice not to] would, in common Humanity, '35

Impostor *Wood* in every Part, I foolishly *disdained* to have Recourse to *Whining, Lamenting, and Crying for Mercy*, but rather chose to *appeal to Law and Liberty* and *the common Rights of Mankind*, without considering the *Climate* I was in.

Since your last Residence in *Ireland*, I frequently have taken my Nag to Ride about your Grounds, where I fancy'd my self to feel an Air of *Freedom* breathing round me, and I am glad the Low Condition of a
10 Tradesman did not qualify me to wait on you at your House, for then I am afraid my Writings would not have escaped *severer Censures*. But I have lately sold my Nag, and honestly told his greatest Fault, which was that of snuffing up the Air about *Brackdenstown*, whereby he became such a Lover of *Liberty*, that I could scarce hold him in. I have likewise buried at the Bottom of a strong Chest your Lordship's Writings under a Heap of others that Treat of *Liberty*, and spread over a *Layer* or two of *Hobs, Filmer, Bodin* and
20 many more Authors of that Stamp, to be readiest at Hand whenever I shall be disposed to take up a *New Set* of Principles in Government. In the mean time I design quietly to look to my Shop, and keep as far out of your Lordship's Influence as possible; and if you ever see any more of my Writings upon this Subject, I promise you shall find them as Innocent, as Insipid and without a Sting as what I have now offered you. But if your Lordship will please to give me an easy Lease of some Part of your Estate in *Yorkshire*, thither
30 I will carry my Chest and turning it upside down, resume my Political Reading where I left it off; feed on plain homely Fare, and Live and Dye a FREE Honest *English* Farmer: But not without Regret for leaving my Country-men under the Dread of the Brazen Tallons of Mr. *Wood*; My Most Loyal and Innocent Country-men, to whom I owe so much for

their Good Opinion of Me, and of my Poor Endeavours
to serve them,

I am

with the greatest Respect,

From my Shop
in St. Francis-
Street, Dec. 14.
1724.

My Lord

Your Lordship's most Obedi-
ent and most Humble Servant,

M. B.

1 and of my] and my '25, '30, '35

LETTERS VI & VII

AND AN

ACCOUNT of WOOD'S EXECUTION

FIRST PUBLISHED

with the following ADVERTISEMENT in

Vol. IV of SWIFT's Works, Dublin 1735.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER

THE former of the two following Papers is dated Oct. 26th. 1724, by which it appears to be written a little after the Proclamation against the Author of the Drapier's fourth Letter. It is delivered with much Caution, because the Author confesseth himself to be D— of St. P—k's; and I could discover his Name subscribed at the End of the Original, although blotted out by some other Hand. I can tell no other Reason why it was not printed, than what I
10 have heard; that the Writer finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the People in Power seemed to be displeased, thought it more prudent to keep the Paper in his Cabinet. However, having received some Encouragement to collect into One Volume all Papers relating to Ireland, supposed to be written by the Drapier; and knowing how favourably that Author's Writings in this kind have been received by the Publick; to make the Volume more compleat, I procured a Copy of the following Letter from one of the Author's Friends, with
20 whom it was left, while the Author was in England; and I have printed it as near as I could in the Order of Time.

The next Treatise is called An Address, &c. It is without a Date; but seems to be written during the first Session of Parliament in Lord Carteret's Government. The Title of this Address is in the usual Form, by M. B. Drapier. There is but a small Part of it that relates to William Wood and his Coin: The rest contains several Proposals for the Improvement of Ireland; the many Discouragements it lyes under; and what are the best Remedies
30 against them.

By many Passages in some of the Drapier's former Letters, but particularly in the following Address, concerning the great Drain of Money from Ireland by Absentees,

Importation of foreign Goods, Balance of Trade, and the like; it appears that the Author had taken much Pains, and been well informed in the business of Computing; all his Reasonings upon that Subject, although he does not here descend to particular Sums, agreeing generally with the Accounts given by others who have since made that Enquiry their particular Study. And it is observable, that in this Address, as well as in one of his printed Letters, he hath specified several important Articles, that have not been taken Notice of by others who came after him.

A LETTER

TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON

MY LORD,

I Desire you will consider me as a Member who comes in at the latter End of a Debate; or as a Lawyer who speaks to a Cause, when the Matter hath been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I REMEMBER some Months ago I was at your House upon a Commission, where I am one of the Governors:
10 But I went thither not so much on Account of the Commission, as to ask you some Questions concerning Mr. *Wood's* Patent to coin Half-pence for *Ireland*; where you very freely told me, in a mixt Company, how much you had been always against that wicked Project: Which raised in me an Esteem for you so far, that I went in a few Days to make you a Visit, after many Years Intermission. I am likewise told, that your Son wrote two Letters from *London*, (one of which I have seen) empowering those to whom they were directed,
20 to assure his Friends, that whereas there was a malicious Report spread of his engaging himself to Mr. *Walpole* for Forty Thousand Pounds of *Wood's* Coin, to be received in *Ireland*; the said Report was false and groundless; and he had never discoursed with that Minister on the Subject; nor would ever give his Consent to have one Farthing of the said Coin current here. And although it be long since I have given myself the Trouble of conversing with People of Titles or Stations; yet I have been told by those who can take up
30 with such Amusements, that there is not a considerable Person of the Kingdom, scrupulous in any Sort to declare his Opinion. But all this is needless to alledge, when we consider, that the ruinous Consequences of *Wood's* Patent, have been so strongly represented by

both Houses of Parliament; by the Privy Council; the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*; by so many Corporations; and the Concurrence of the principal Gentlemen in most Counties, at their Quarter-Sessions, without any Regard to Party, Religion, or Nation.

I conclude from hence, that the Currency of these Half-pence would, in the universal Opinion of our People, be utterly destructive to this Kingdom; and consequently, that it is every Man's Duty, not only to refuse this Coin himself, but as far as in him lyes, to ¹⁰ persuade others to do the like: And whether this be done in private or in Print, is all a Case: As no Lay-man is forbid to write, or to discourse upon Religious or Moral Subjects; although he may not do it in a Pulpit (at least in our Church.) Neither is this an Affair of State, until Authority shall think fit to declare it so: Or if you should understand it in that Sense; yet you will please to consider that I am not now a preaching.

THEREFORE, I do think it my Duty, since the *Drapier* will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his ²⁰ Place, as not to incur his Fortune: For I have learnt from old Experience, that there are Times wherein a Man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that preserving both those Characters, I may be allowed, by offering new Arguments, or enforcing old ones, to refresh the Memory of my Fellow-Subjects, and keep up that good Spirit raised among them; to preserve themselves from utter Ruin by lawful Means, and such as are permitted by His Majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two Propositions: ³⁰ First, that we are a most loyal People; and, Secondly, that we are a free People, in the common Acceptation of that Word applied to a Subject under a limited Monarch. I know very well, that you and I did many Years ago in Discourse differ much, in the Presence of Lord *Wharton*, about the Meaning of that Word

Liberty, with Relation to *Ireland*. But if you will not allow us to be a free People; there is only another Appellation left; which, I doubt, my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed* would call me to an Account for, if I ventured to bestow: For, I observed, and I shall never forget upon what Occasion, the Device upon his Coach to be *Libertas & natale Solum*; at the very Point of Time when he was sitting in his Court, and perjuring himself to betray both.

Now, as for our Loyalty, to His present Majesty;
 10 if it hath ever been equalled in any other Part of his Dominions; I am sure it hath never been exceeded: And I am confident he hath not a Minister in *England* who could ever call it once in Question: But that some hard Rumours at least have been transmitted from t'other Side the Water, I suppose you will not doubt: And Rumours of the severest Kind; which many good People have imputed to the indirect Proceeding of Mr. *Wood* and his Emissaries; as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our Loyalty depended upon the Test
 20 of refusing or taking his Copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal People; so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper Marks of Favour and Protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free People can expect: Among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be One; That *Wood's* Half-pence may never have Entrance into this Kingdom. And this we shall continue to *wish*, when we dare no longer express our Wishes; although there were no such Mortal as a *Drapier* in the World.

30 I AM heartily sorry, that any Writer should, in a Cause so generally approved, give Occasion to the Government and Council to charge him with *Para-
 8 and perjuring himself] and —— himself D 10 any other] another A, D

* Taken out of the *Drapier's* 4th Letter, for which the Printer was prosecuted; and a Proclama-

tion published against the Author, offering 300l. Reward for discovering him. '35

graphs "highly reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministers; tending to alienate the Affections of His "good Subjects in *England* and *Ireland* from each other; "and to promote Sedition among the People." I must confess, that with many others, I thought he meant well; although he might have the Failing of better Writers, to be not always fortunate in the Manner of expressing himself.

However, since the *Drapier* is but one Man, I shall think I do a publick Service, by asserting that the rest ¹⁰ of my Countrymen are wholly free from learning out of *his* Pamphlets to reflect on the King or His Ministers, to breed Sedition.

I SOLEMNLY declare, that I never once heard the least Reflection cast upon the King, on the Subject of Mr. *Wood's* Coin: For in many Discourses on this Matter, I do not remember His Majesty's Name to be so much as mentioned. As to the Ministry in *England*, the only two Persons hinted at were the Duke of *Grafton*, and Mr. *Walpole*: The former, as I have heard you and ²⁰ a Hundred others affirm, declared, that he never saw the Patent in favour of Mr. *Wood*, before it was passed, although he were then Lord Lieutenant: And therefore I suppose every Body believes, that his Grace hath been wholly unconcerned in it since.

Mr. *Walpole* was indeed supposed to be understood by the Letter *W*. in several News-Papers; where it is said, that some Expressions fell from him not very favourable to the People of *Ireland*; for the Truth of which, the Kingdom is not to answer, any more than ³⁰ for the Discretion of the Publishers. You observe, the *Drapier* wholly clears Mr. *Walpole* of this Charge, by very strong Arguments; and speaks of him with Civility. I cannot deny my self to have been often present, where the Company gave their Opinion, that

Mr. *Walpole* favoured Mr. *Wood*'s Project, which I always contradicted; and for my own Part, never once opened my Lips against that Minister, either in mixt or particular Meetings: And my Reason for this Reservedness was; because it pleased him, in the *Queen's* Time (I mean *Queen Anne* of ever blessed Memory) to make a Speech directly against me, by Name, in the House of Commons, as I was told a very few Minutes after, in the Court of *Requests*, by more
10 than fifty Members.

BUT You, who are in a great Station here, (if any Thing here may be called Great) cannot be ignorant, that whoever is understood by publick Voice to be chief Minister, will, among the general Talkers, share the Blame, whether justly or no, of every Thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many Instances, from my own Knowledge, while I was in the World; and particularly in the Case of the *greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt Minister, I ever
20 conversed with.

BUT, whatever unpleasing Opinion some People might conceive of Mr. *Walpole*, on account of those Half-pence; I dare boldly affirm, it was entirely owing to Mr. *Wood*. Many Persons of Credit, come from *England*, have affirmed to me, and others, that they have seen Letters under his Hand, full of Arrogance and Insolence towards *Ireland*; and boasting of his Favour with Mr. *Walpole*; which is highly probable: Because he reasonably thought it for his Interest to
30 spread such a Report; and because it is the known Talent of low and little Spirits, to have a great Man's Name perpetually in their Mouths.

THUS I have sufficiently justified the People of *Ireland*, from learning any bad Lessons out of the *Drapier's* Pamphlets, with regard to his Majesty and

* Supposed to be the Lord Treasurer Oxford. '35

his Ministers: And, therefore, if those Papers were intended to sow Sedition among us, GOD be thanked, the Seeds have fallen upon a very improper Soil.

As to alienating the Affections of the People of *England* and *Ireland* from each other; I believe, the *Drapier*, whatever his Intentions were, hath left that Matter just as he found it.

I HAVE lived long in both Kingdoms, as well in Country as in Town; and therefore, take my self to be as well informed as most Men, in the Dispositions of 10 each People towards the other. By the People, I understand here, only the Bulk of the common People; and I desire no Lawyer may distort or extend my Meaning.

THERE is a Vein of Industry and Parsimony, that runs through the whole People of *England*; which, added to the Easiness of their Rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to *Ireland*, they know little more than they do of *Mexico*; further than that it is a Country subject to the King of *England*, full of Boggs, inhabited by wild *Irish Papists*; who are kept in Awe by mer- 20 cenary Troops sent from thence: And their general Opinion is, that it were better for *England* if this whole Island were sunk into the Sea: For, they have a Tradition, that every Forty Years there must be a Rebellion in *Ireland*. I have seen the grossest Suppositions pass upon them; that the *wild Irish* were taken in Toys; but that, in some Time, they would grow so tame, as to eat out of your Hands: I have been asked by Hundreds, and particularly by my Neighbours, your Tenants, at *Pepper-hara*; whether I had come from *Ireland* by Sea: 30 And, upon the Arrival of an *Irish-man* to a Country Town, I have known Crouds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A GENTLEMAN now in *Dublin*, affirms, that passing some Months ago through *Northampton*, and finding

the whole Town in a Lurry, with Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations; upon asking the Cause, was told, it was for Joy, that the *Irish* had submitted to receive *Wood's* Half-pence. This, I think, plainly shews what Sentiments that large Town hath of us; and how little they made it their own Case; although they lie directly in our Way to *London*; and therefore, cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human Shapes.

As to the People of this Kingdom, they consist either
10 of *Irish Papists*; who are as inconsiderable, in Point of Power, as the Women and Children; or of *English Protestants*, who love their Brethren of that Kingdom; although they may possibly sometimes complain, when they think they are hardly used: However, I confess, I do not see any great Consequence, how their personal Affections stand to each other, while the Sea divides them; and while they continue in their Loyalty to the same Prince. And yet, I will appeal to you; whether those from *England* have Reason to complain, when
20 they come hither in Pursuit of their Fortunes? Or, whether the People of *Ireland* have Reason to boast, when they go to *England* on the same Design?

My second Proposition was, that we of *Ireland* are a free People: This, I suppose, you will allow; at least, with certain Limitations remaining in your own Breast. However, I am sure it is not criminal to affirm; because the Words *Liberty* and *Property*, as applied to the Subject, are often mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in yours, and other Courts below; from
30 whence it must follow, that the People of *Ireland* do, or ought to enjoy all the Benefits of the common and Statute Law; such as to be tried by Juries, to pay no Money without their own Consent, as represented in Parliament; and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed, that a free People cannot, by Law, be compelled to take any Money in Payment, except

Gold and Silver; I do not see why any Man should be hindered from cautioning his Countrymen against this Coin of *William Wood*; who is endeavouring by Fraud to rob us of that Property, which the Laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and that this Copper can be obtruded on us; I would put the *Drapier's* Case in another Light, by supposing, that a Person going into his Shop, should agree for Thirty Shillings Worth of Goods, and force the Seller to take his Payment in a Parcel of Copper-Pieces, intrinsically not worth above 10 a Crown: I desire to know, whether the *Drapier* would not be actually robbed of Five and Twenty Shillings, and how far he could be said to be Master of his Property? The same Question may be applied to Rents and Debts, on Bond or Mortgage, and to all Kind of Commerce whatsoever.

GIVE me Leave to do what the *Drapier* hath done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked Fact, as it stands in the View of the World.

ONE *William Wood*, Esq; and Hard-ware-man, 20 obtains, by Fraud, a Patent in *England*, to coin 108000*l.* in Copper, to pass in *Ireland*; leaving us Liberty to take, or to refuse. The People here, in all Sorts of Bodies and Representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this Coin: To justify these Declarations, they generally offer two Reasons; first, because by the Words of the Patent, they are left to their own Choice: And secondly, because they are not obliged by Law: So that here you see there is, *Bellum atque virum*, a Kingdom on one Side, and *William Wood* 30 on the other. And if Mr. *Wood* gets the Victory, at the Expence of *Ireland's* Ruin, and the Profit of one or two Hundred Thousand Pounds (I mean by continuing, and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself; I doubt, both present and future Ages will, at least, think it a very singular Scheme.

IF this Fact be truly stated; I must confess, I look upon it as my Duty, so far as God hath enabled me, and as long as I keep within the Bounds of Truth, of Duty, and of Decency, to warn my Fellow-Subjects, as they value their King, their Country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious Coin; no not so much as one single Half-penny. For, if one single Thief forces the Door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole Crew behind.

- 10 AND, while I shall be thus employed, I will never give my self Leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my **Lord Lieutenant*; whose Person and great Qualities I have always highly respected; (as I am sure his Excellency will be my Witness) or the Ministers in *England*, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the *Privy-Council* here; who, as I am informed, did send an Address to his Majesty against Mr. *Wood's* Coin; which, if it be a Mistake, I desire I may not be accused for a Spreader of false
20 News: But, I confess, I am so great a Stranger to Affairs, that for any Thing I know, the whole Body of the Council may since have been changed: And, although I observed some of the very same Names in a late Declaration against that Coin, which I saw subscribed to the Proclamation against the *Drapier*; yet possibly they may be different Persons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are like to continue so.

- IN this Controversy, where the Reasoners on each Side are divided by St. *George's-Channel*, his Majesty's
30 Prerogative, perhaps, would not have been mentioned; if Mr. *Wood*, and his Advocates, had not made it necessary, by giving out, that the Currency of his Coin should be enforced by a Proclamation. The Traders and common People of the Kingdom, were heartily willing to refuse this Coin; but the Fear of a Proclamation

* *Lord Carteret.* '35

brought along with it most dreadful Apprehensions. It was therefore, absolutely necessary for the *Drapier*, to remove this Difficulty; and accordingly, in one of his former Pamphlets, he hath produced invincible Arguments, (wherever he picked them up) that the King's Prerogative was not at all concerned in the Matter; since the Law had sufficiently provided against any Coin to be imposed upon the Subject, except Gold and Silver; and that Copper is not Money, but as it hath been properly called, *Nummorum Famulus*. 10

THE three former Letters from the *Drapier*, having not received any publick Censure, I look upon them to be without Exception; and that the good People of the Kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that Spirit raised against this destructive Coin of Mr. *Wood*: As for this last Letter, against which a Proclamation is issued; I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my Abilities were equal; but 20 being naturally somewhat slow of Comprehension; no Lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good Designs, without any visible Motive either of Profit or Honour; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the Cockle from the Corn.

THAT which, I am told, gives greatest Offence in this last Letter, is where the *Drapier* affirms; that if a Rebellion should prove so successful, as to fix the Pretender on the Throne of *England*, he would venture so far to transgress the *Irish* Statute, (which unites 30 *Ireland* to *England* under one King) as to lose every Drop of his Blood, to hinder him from being King of *Ireland*.

I SHALL not presume to vindicate any Man, who openly declares he would transgress a Statute; and a Statute of such Importance: But, with the most

humble Submission, and Desire of Pardon for a very innocent Mistake, I should be apt to think that the loyal Intention of the Writer, might be at least some small Extenuation of his Crime. For, in this I confess my self to think with the *Drapier*.

I HAVE not hitherto been told of any other Objections against that Pamphlet; but, I suppose, they will all appear at the Prosecution of the *Drapier*. And, I think, whoever in his own Conscience believes the
 10 said Pamphlet to be *wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his Ministers, &c.* would do well to discover the Author, (as little a Friend as I am to the Trade of Informers) although the Reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the Discovery. I own, it would be a great Satisfaction to me, to hear the Arguments not only of Judges, but of Lawyers, upon this Case. Because, you cannot but know, there often happens Occasions, wherein it would
 20 be very convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore, it hath been the Wisdom of the *English* Parliaments, to be very reserved in limiting the Press. When a Bill is debating in either House of Parliament there, nothing is more usual, than to have the Controversy handled by Pamphlets on both Sides; without the least Animadversion upon the Authors.

So here, in the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; since the two Houses gave their Opinion by Addresses, how dangerous the Currency of that Copper would be to
 30 *Ireland*; it was, without all Question, both lawful and convenient, that the Bulk of the People should be let more particularly into the Nature of the Danger they were in; and of the Remedies that were in their own Power, if they would have the Sense to apply them; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular Persons, to whom GOD hath given Zeal and

Understanding sufficient for such an Undertaking. Thus it happened in the Case of that destructive Project for a Bank in *Ireland*, which was brought into Parliament a few Years ago; and it was allowed, that the Arguments and Writings of some without Doors, contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad if some able Lawyers would prescribe the Limits, how far a private Man may venture in delivering his Thoughts upon publick Matters: Because a true Lover of his Country, may ¹⁰ think it hard to be a quiet Stander-by, and an indolent Looker on, while a publick Error prevails; by which a whole Nation may be ruined. Every Man who enjoys Property, hath some Share in the Publick; and therefore, the Care of the Publick is, in some Degree, every such Man's Concern.

To come to Particulars, I could wish to know, whether it be utterly unlawful in any Writer so much as to mention the Prerogative; at least so far as to bring it into doubt, upon any Point whatsoever: I know it ²⁰ is often debated in *Westminster-Hall*; and Sir *Edward Coke*, as well as other eminent Lawyers, do frequently handle that Subject in their Books?

SECONDLY, How far the Prerogative extends to force Coin upon the Subject, which is not Sterling; such as Lead, Brass, Copper, mixt Metal, Shells, Leather, or any other Material; and fix upon it whatever Denomination the Crown shall think fit?

THIRDLY, What is really and truly meant by that Phrase of a *depending Kingdom*, as applied to *Ireland*; ³⁰ and wherein that *Dependency* consisteth?

LASTLY, In what Points relating to *Liberty* and *Property*, the People of *Ireland* differ, or at least *ought* to differ, from those of *England*?

If these Particulars were made so clear, that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite Ease and

Use to the Kingdom; and either prevent or silence all Discontents.

My Lord *Sommers*, the greatest Man I ever knew of your Robe; and whose Thoughts of *Ireland* differed as far as Heaven and Earth, from those of some others among his Brethren here; lamented to me, that the Prerogative of the Crown, or the Privileges of Parliament, should ever be liable to Dispute, in any single Branch of either; by which Means, he said, the Publick
10 often suffered great Inconveniences; whereof he gave me several Instances. I produce the Authority of so eminent a Person, to justify my Desires, that some high Points might be cleared.

For want of such known Ascertainment, how far a Writer may proceed in expressing his good Wishes for his Country; a Person of the most innocent Intentions, may possibly, by the Oratory and Comments of Lawyers, be charged with many Crimes, which from his very Soul he abhors; and consequently may be
20 ruined in his Fortunes, and left to rot among Thieves in some stinking Jayl; meerly for mistaking the Purviews of the Law. I have known, in my Life-time, a Printer prosecuted and convicted, for publishing a *Pamphlet; where the Author's Intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent, as those of a Martyr at his last Prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my Duty, preach to the People under my Inspection, upon the Subject of Mr. *Wood's* Coin; and although I never heard that my Sermon gave the least Offence, as I am
30 sure none was intended; yet, if it were now printed and published, I cannot say, I would ensure it from the Hands of the common Hang-man; or my own Person from those of a Messenger.

I HAVE heard the late Chief Justice *Holt* affirm, that

* Supposed to be, A Proposal Manufactures, written by the
for the universal Use of Irish Author. '35

in all criminal Cases, the most favourable Interpretation should be put upon Words, that they can possibly bear. You meet the same Position asserted in many Tryals, for the greatest Crimes; though often very ill practiced, by the perpetual Corruption of Judges. And I remember, at a Tryal in *Kent*, where Sir *George Rook* was indicted for calling a Gentleman Knave and Villain; the Lawyer for the *Defendant* brought off his Client, by alledging, that the Words were not injurious; for, *Knave* in the old and true Signification, imported only a Servant; 10 and Villain in *Latin*, is *Villicus*; which is no more than a Man employed in Country Labour; or rather a Baily.

If Sir *John Holt's* Opinion were a Standard Maxim for all Times and Circumstances, any Writer, with a very small Measure of Discretion, might easily be safe; but, I doubt, in Practice it hath been frequently controuled, at least before his Time; for I take it to be an old Rule in Law.

I HAVE read, or heard, a Passage of Signior *Lati*, an *Italian*; who being in *London*, busying himself with 20 writing the History of *England*, told King *Charles* the Second, that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving Offence, but found it a Thing impossible; although he should have been as wise as *Solomon*: The King answered, that if this were the Case, he had better employ his Time in writing Proverbs as *Solomon* did: But *Lati* lay under no publick Necessity of writing; neither would *England* have been one Half-penny the better, or the worse, whether he writ or no.

THIS I mention, because I know it will readily be 30 objected; what have private Men to do with the Publick? What Call had a *Drapier* to turn Politician, to meddle in Matters of State? Would not his Time have been better employed in looking to his Shop; or his Pen in writing Proverbs, Elegies, Ballads, Garlands, and Wonders? He would then have been out of all

Danger of Proclamations, and Prosecutions. Have we not able Magistrates and Counsellors, hourly watching over the Publick-Weal? All this may be true: And yet, when the Addresses from both Houses of Parliament, against Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence, failed of Success; if some Pen had not been employed, to inform the People how far they might legally proceed, in refusing that Coin, to detect the Fraud, the Artifice, and Insolence of the Coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous Consequences to the whole Kingdom; which would inevitably follow from the Currency of the said Coin; I might appeal to many Hundred Thousand People, Whether any one of them would ever have had the Courage or Sagacity to refuse it.

If this Copper should begin to make it's Way among the common, ignorant People, we are inevitably undone; it is they who give us the greatest Apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow Misinformations: For, if every Man were wise enough to understand his own Interest, which is every Man's principal Study, there would be no need of Pamphlets upon this Occasion. But, as Things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my Duty to God, my King, and my Country, to inform the People, that the Proclamation lately issued against the *Drapier*, doth not in the least affect the Case of Mr. *Wood* and his Coin; but only refers to certain Paragraphs in the *Drapier's* last Pamphlet, (not immediately relating to his Subject, nor at all to the Merits of the Cause,) which the Government was pleased to dislike; so that any Man has the same Liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this Coin, which he had before: Neither is any Man obliged to believe, that those honourable Persons (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable Proclamation against the *Drapier*, have at all changed their Opinions, with regard to Mr. *Wood* or his Coin.

THEREFORE concluding my self to be thus far upon a safe and sure Foot; I shall continue, upon any proper Occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that Spirit raised in the Nation, (whether the real Author were a real *Drapier* or no is little to the Purpose) against this horrid Design of Mr. *Wood*; at the same Time carefully watching every Stroke of my Pen, and venturing only to incur the publick Censure of the World as a Writer; not of my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*, as a Criminal. Whenever an Order shall 10 come out by Authority, forbidding all Men upon the highest Penalties, to offer any thing in Writing or Discourse against Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence; I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last Man in the Kingdom to receive them; because I will never receive them at all: For although I know how to be silent; I have not yet learned to pay active Obedience against my Conscience, and the publick Safety.

I DESIRE to put a Case, which I think the *Drapier*, in 20 some of his Books, hath put before me; although not so fully as it requires.

You know the Copper Half-pence in *England* are coined by the Publick; and every Piece worth pretty tolerably near the Value of the Copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the publick Coinage, a Patent had been granted to some private, obscure Person, for coining a proportionable Quantity of Copper in that Kingdom, to what Mr. *Wood* is preparing in This; and all of it at least five Times below the intrinsick Value: The current 30 Money of *England* is reckoned to be Twenty Millions; and ours under *Five Hundred Thousand Pounds: By this Computation, as Mr. *Wood* hath Power to give us 108000 Pound; so the Patentee in *England*, by the same Proportion, might circulate Four Millions Three

* It is since sunk to 200,000*l.* '35

Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds; besides as much more by Stealth and Counterfeits: I desire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addressed upon such an Occasion; what Success they probably would have had; and how many *Drapiers* would have risen to pester the World with Pamphlets: Yet that Kingdom would not be so great a Sufferer as Ours in the like Case; because their Cash would not be conveyed into foreign Countries, but lye hid in the
 10 Chests of cautious, thrifty Men, until better Times. Then I desire, for the Satisfaction of the Publick, that you will please to inform me why this Country is treated in so very different a Manner, in a Point of such high Importance; whether it be on Account of *Poining's* Act; of Subordination; Dependance; or any other Term of Art; which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I AM very sensible, that the good or ill Success of Mr. *Wood*, will affect you less than any Person of Consequence in the Kingdom; because I hear you are so
 20 prudent as to make all your Purchases in *England*; and truly so would I, if I had Money, although I were to pay a Hundred Years Purchase; because I should be glad to possess a Freehold that could not be taken from me by any Law to which I did not give my own Consent; and where I should never be in Danger of receiving my Rents in mixt Copper, at the Loss of Sixteen Shillings in the Pound. You can live in Ease and Plenty at *Pepper-hara*, in *Surrey*; and therefore I
 30 thought it extremely generous and publick-spirited in you to be of the Kingdom's Side in this Dispute, by shewing, without Reserve, your Disapprobation of Mr. *Wood's* Design; at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other Points; and therefore I could get but few Believers,

when I attempted to justify you in this Article from your own Words.

I WOULD humbly offer another Thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the *Drapier's* Observation. If these Half-pence should once gain Admittance; it is agreed, that in no long Space of Time, what by the clandestine Practices of the Coiner, what by his own Counterfeits, and those of others, either from Abroad or at Home; his limited Quantity would be trebled upon us, until there would not be a Grain of 10 Gold or Silver visible in the Nation. This, in my Opinion would lay a heavy Charge upon the Crown, by creating a Necessity of transmitting Money from *England* to pay the Salaries at least of the principal Civil Officers: For I do not conceive how a Judge (for Instance) could support his Dignity with a thousand Pounds a Year in *Wood's* Coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near Two Hundred. To argue that these Half-pence, if no other Coin were current, would answer the general Ends of Commerce among our 20 selves, is a great Mistake; and the *Drapier* hath made that Matter too clear to admit an Answer; by shewing us what every Owner of Land must be forced to do with the Products of it in such a Distress. You may read his Remarks at large in his second or third Letter; to which I refer you.

BEFORE I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several Months past, there have more Papers been written in this Town, such as they are, all upon the best publick Principle, the Love of our Country, than, 30 perhaps, hath been known in any other Nation, and in so short a Time: I speak in general, from the *Drapier* down to the Maker of *Ballads*; and all without any Regard to the common Motives of Writers; which are Profit, Favour, and Reputation. As to Profit, I am assured by Persons of Credit, that the best Ballad upon

Mr. *Wood* will not yield above a Groat to the Author; and the unfortunate Adventurer *Harding*, declares he never made the *Drapier* any Present, except one Pair of Scissars. As to Favour, whoever thinks to make his Court by opposing Mr. *Wood* is not very deep in Politicks. And as to Reputation, certainly no Man of Worth and Learning, would employ his Pen upon so transitory a Subject, and in so obscure a Corner of the World, to distinguish himself as an Author.

10 So that I look upon my self, the *Drapier*, and my numerous Brethren, to be all true Patriots in our several Degrees.

ALL that the Publick can expect for the future, is only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr. *Wood*'s Half-pence; and refer them for Conviction to the *Drapier*'s Reasons. For, a Man of the most superior Understanding, will find it impossible to make the best Use of it, while he writes in Constraint; perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out Expressions, for

20 Fear of bringing his Printer, or himself, under a Prosecution from my Lord Chief Justice *Whitshed*. It calls to my Remembrance the Madman in *Don Quixote*, who being soundly beaten by a Weaver for letting a Stone (which he always carried on his Shoulder) fall upon a Spaniel, apprehended that every Cur he met was of the same Species.

FOR these Reasons, I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes, in the least, to preserve that Union among

30 us for opposing this fatal Project of Mr. *Wood*, my Pains will not be altogether lost.

I SENT these Papers to an eminent Lawyer (and yet a Man of Virtue and Learning into the Bargain) who, after many Alterations returned them back, with assuring me, that they are perfectly innocent; without the least Mixture of Treason, Rebellion, Sedition,

Malice, Disaffection, Reflection, or wicked Insinuation whatsoever.

IF the *Bell-man* of each Parish, as he goes his Circuit, would cry out, every Night, *Past Twelve a Clock; Beware of Wood's Half-pence*; it would probably cut off the Occasion for publishing any more Pamphlets; provided that in Country Towns it were done upon Market-Days. For my own Part, as soon as it shall be determined, that it is not against Law, I will begin the Experiment in the Liberty of St. Patrick's; and hope ¹⁰ my Example may be followed in the whole City. But if Authority shall think fit to forbid all Writings, or Discourses upon this Subject, except such as are in Favour of Mr. *Wood*, I will obey as it becomes me; only when I am in Danger of bursting, I will go and whisper among the Reeds, not any Reflection upon the Wisdom of my Countrymen; but only these few Words, *BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE*.

I am,

with due Respect,

20

Your Most Obedient,

Humble Servant,

Deanry House,
Oct. 26, 1724.

J. S.

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS
TO
both Houses of Parliament

By M. B. DRAPIER

Writ before the Lord CARTERET came over, and
soon after the fourth DRAPIER's Letter. '35

*Multa gemens ignominiam Plagasq; superbi
Victoris. —*

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS

I HAVE been told, that *Petitions* and *Addresses*, either to King or Parliament, are the Right of every Subject; provided they consist with that Respect, which is due to Princes and great Assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest *Proposals*, or *Opinions* of private Men, have been ill received, when they have not been delivered in the Style of *Advice*; which is a Presumption far from my Thoughts. However, if
10 *Proposals* should be looked upon as too assuming; yet I hope, every Man may be suffered to declare his own and the Nation's *Wishes*. For Instance; I may be allowed to *wish*, that some further Laws were enacted for the Advancement of *Trade*, for the Improvement of *Agriculture*, now strangely neglected, against the Maxim of all wise Nations: For supplying the manifest Defects in the Acts concerning Plantation of Trees: For setting the Poor to Work, and many others.

UPON this Principle, I may venture to affirm; it is
20 the hearty *Wish* of the whole Nation, very few excepted; that the Parliament in this Session would *begin* by strictly examining into the detestable Fraud of one *William Wood*, now or late of *London*, Hard-ware-man; who *illegally* and *clandestinely*, as appears by your own Votes and Addresses, procured a Patent in *England*, for coining Half-pence in that Kingdom, to be current here. This, I say, is the *Wish* of the whole Nation, *very few excepted*; and upon Account of those *few*, is more strongly and justly the *Wish* of the rest: Those *few* consisting
30 either of *Wood's* Confederates, some obscure Tradesmen, or certain bold UNDERTAKERS of weak Judgment, and strong Ambition; who think to find their Accounts in the Ruin of the Nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And, because such Men proceed upon a System of Politicks, to which I would fain hope you

will be always utter Strangers; I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a Station of Fifteen Hundred Pounds a Year, Salary and Perquisites; and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a Year, real Estate. Then, suppose a destructive Project be on Foot; such, for Instance, as this of *Wood*; which if it succeed, in all the Consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the Rents and Wealth of the Kingdom one Half, (although I am confident, it would have done so five ¹⁰ Sixths.) Suppose, I conceive that the *countenancing*, or privately *supporting* this Project, will *please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted*. Nothing then remains, but to compute and ballance my Gain and my Loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my Employment ten Years, (not to mention the fair Chance of a better.) This, at 1500*l.* a Year, amounts, in ten Years, to 15000*l.* My Estate, by the Success of the said Project, sinks 400 *l.* a Year; which at Twenty Years Purchase, is but 8000*l.* so that I am a clear ²⁰ Gainer of 7000*l.* upon the Ballance. And during all that Period, I am possessed of *Power* and *Credit*, can gratify my *Favourites*, and take Vengeance of my *Enemies*. And if the Project miscarry, my private *Merit* is still entire. This *Arithmetick*, as horrible as it appears, I *knowingly* affirm to have been practiced, and applied in Conjectures, whereon depended the *Ruin* or *Safety* of a Nation: Although, probably the Charity and Virtue of a *Senate*, will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such Monsters among Mankind. And yet, the ³⁰ wise Lord *Bacon* mentions a Sort of People, (I doubt the Race is not yet extinct) who would *set a House on Fire*, for the Convenience of roasting their own Eggs at the Flame.

BUT whoever is old enough to remember, and hath

turned his Thoughts to observe the Course of publick Affairs in this Kingdom, from the Time of the *Revolution*; must acknowledge, that the highest Points of Interest and Liberty, have been often sacrificed to the Avarice and Ambition of particular Persons, upon the very Principles and *Arithmetick* that I have supposed: The only Wonder is, how these *Artists* were able to prevail upon Numbers; and influence even publick Assemblies to become Instruments for effecting their
 10 execrable Designs.

It is, I think, in all Conscience, *Latitude* enough for *Vice*, if a Man in *Station* be allowed to act Injustice, upon the *usual* Principles of *getting a Bribe*, *wrecking his Malice*, *serving his Party*, or *consulting his Preferment*; while his Wickedness terminates in the Ruin only of *particular* Persons. But, to deliver up our *whole* Country, and every living Soul who inhabits it, to *certain* Destruction; hath not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable *Casuists* on the Side of
 20 *Corruption*. It were far better, that all who have had the *Misfortune* to be born in this Kingdom, should be rendered incapable of holding *any* Employment whatsoever, above the Degree of a *Constable*, (according to the Scheme and Intention of a **great Minister gone to his own Place*) than to live under the daily Apprehension of a few *false Brethren* among our selves. Because, in the former Case we should be wholly free from the Danger of being betrayed; since none could *then* have Impudence enough to *pretend* any publick Good.

30 It is true, that in this desperate Affair of the new *Half-pence*, I have not heard of any Man above my own Degree of a Shop-keeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as, in *direct Terms*, to vindicate the fatal Project; although I have been told of some very *mollifying Expressions* which were used, and very *gentle Expedients*

* *The late Earl of Sunderland.* '35

proposed and handed about, when it first came under Debate: But, since the Eyes of the People have been so far opened, that the most Ignorant can plainly see their own Ruin, in the Success of *Wood's* Attempt; these GRAND COMPOUNDERS have been more cautious.

BUT that the same Spirit still subsists, hath manifestly appeared (among other Instances of great Compliance) from *certain Circumstances*, that have attended some *late Proceedings* in a **Court of Judicature*. There is not any Common-place more frequently insisted on, by those who treat of our Constitution, than the great Happiness and Excellency of Tryals by *Juries*; yet if this blessed Part of our Law be eludible at Pleasure, by the Force of *Power*, *Frowns*, and *Artifice*; we shall have little Reason to boast of our Advantage, in this Particular, over other States or Kingdoms in *Europe*. And surely, these *high Proceedings*, exercised in a Point that so nearly concerned the *Life-Blood* of the People, their *necessary Subsistence*, their very *Food* and *Raiment*, and even the *publick Peace*; will not allow any favourable *Appearance*; because it was obvious, that so much *superabundant Zeal* could have no other Design, or produce any other Effect, than to *damp* that *Spirit* raised in the Nation against this accursed Scheme of *William Wood*, and his *Abettors*; to which *Spirit* alone, we owe, and for ever must owe, our being *hitherto* preserved, and our Hopes of being preserved for the future; if it can be kept up, and strongly countenanced by *Your* wise Assemblies. I wish I could account for such a Demeanor upon a more *charitable* Foundation, than that of putting our Interest in over-Balance with the Ruin of our Country.

I REMEMBER some Months ago, when this Affair was fresh in Discourse; a Person near allied to *SOME-*

* By Chief Justice Whitshed. '35

BODY, or (as the Hawkers called Him) NOBODY, who was thought *deeply concerned*, went about very diligently among his Acquaintance, to shew the bad Consequences that might follow from any publick Resentment to the Disadvantage of his *ALLY*, Mr. Wood; principally alledging the Danger of all Employments being disposed of from *England*. One of these *Emissaries* came to me, and urged the same *Topick*: I answered, naturally, that I knew there was no Office of
 10 any Kind, which a Man from *England* might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the Disadvantage of being born here, as only in the Condition of *Leasers* and *Gleaners*. Neither could I forbear mentioning the known Fable of the Countryman, who entreated his *Ass* to fly for Fear of being taken by the *Enemy*; but the *Ass* refused to give himself that Trouble; and upon a very wise Reason; because he could not possibly change his present Master for a *worse*: The *Enemy* could not make
 20 him *fare harder*; *beat him more cruelly*; nor load him with *heavier Burthens*.

UPON these, and many other Considerations, I may affirm it to be the *Wish* of the whole Nation, that the Power and Privileges of *Juries* were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the Legislature; and that whoever hath been manifestly known to violate them, might be *stigmatized* by publick *Censure*; not from any Hope that such a *Censure* will amend their *Practices*, or hurt their *Interest*, (for it may probably *operate quite*
 30 *contrary in both*;) but that the Nation may know their *Enemies* from their *Friends*.

I SAY not this with any Regard or View to my self; for I write in great Security; and am resolved that none shall *merit* at my Expence further than by shewing their *Zeal* to *discover*, *prosecute*, and *condemn* me, for endeavouring to do my Duty in serving my Country:

And yet I am conscious to my self that I never had the least Intention to *reflect on His Majesty's Ministers*, nor on any other Person, except *William Wood*, whom I neither did, nor do yet conceive to be of *that Number*. However, some would have it, that I WENT TOO FAR; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have GONE FURTHER; and I think I could not easily have FARED WORSE. And therefore I was no further affected with *their Proclamation*, and subsequent Pro-¹⁰ceedings, than a good Clergyman is with the *Sins* of the People. And as to the poor *Printer*, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a RIGHTEOUS Tribunal.

As my Intention is only to lay before your great Assemblies, the general Wishes of the Nation; and as I have already declared it our principal *Wish* that your *first* Proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious Fraud of *William Wood*; so I must add, as the universal Opinion, that all *Schemes of Commutation, Composition,*²⁰ and the like *Expedients*, either *avowed* or *implied*, will be of the most pernicious Consequences to the Publick; against the Dignity of a FREE Kingdom; and prove an Encouragement to future *Adventurers* in the same destructive Projects. For, it is a Maxim, which no Man at present disputes, that even a *Connivance* to admit One Thousand Pounds in these HALF-PENCE, will produce, in Time, the same ruinous Effects, as if we openly consented to admit a Million. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave³⁰ Things in the doubtful, melancholly State they are at present, (which, however, God forbid) and trust entirely to the general Aversion of our People against this Coin; using all honest Endeavours to preserve, continue, and encrease that Aversion, than submit to apply those *Palliatives* which *weak, perfidious, or abject*

Politicians, are, upon all *Occasions*, and in all *Diseases*, so ready to *administer*.

IN the small Compass of my Reading, (which, however, hath been more extensive than is usual to Men of my inferior Calling) I have observed that *Grievances* have always preceded *Supplies*; and if ever *Grievances* had a Title to such a Pre-eminence, it must be this of *Wood*; because it is not only the greatest *Grievance* that any Country could suffer, but a *Grievance* of such a
 10 Kind that, if it should take Effect, would make it impossible for us to give any *Supplies* at all; except in *adulterate Copper*; unless a Tax were laid for paying the Civil and Military Lists, and the *large* Pensions, with real Commodities instead of Money; which, however, might be lyable to some few Objections as well as Difficulties: For although the *common Soldiers* might be content with *Beef* and *Mutton*, and *Wool*, and *Malt*, and *Leather*; yet I am in some Doubt as to the *Generals*, the *Colonels*, the *numerous Pensioners*, the *Civil Officers*, and
 20 others, who all live in *England* upon *Irish Pay*; as well as those *few* who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

THERE is one Particular, which although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former Papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the History of any Age or Country; neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost *Astonishment*.

30 AFTER the unanimous Addresses to His Sacred Majesty, against this Patent of *Wood*, from both Houses of Parliament, which are the *Three Estates* of the Kingdom; and likewise an Address from the Privy Council, to whom, under the Chief Governors, the whole Administration is entrusted; the Matter is referred to a Committee of Council in *London*. *Wood*,

and his Adherents, are heard on one Side; and a few *Volunteers*, without any Trust or Direction from hence, on the other. The Question, (as I remember) chiefly turned upon the Want of *Half-pence* in *Ireland*: Witnesses are called on the Behalf of *Wood* (of what Credit I have formerly shewn:) Upon the Issue the Patent is found good and legal; all His Majesty's Officers here, (not excepting the *Military*) commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual. The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, of the Privy Council; and 10 of the City of *Dublin*: The Declarations of most Counties and Corporations through the Kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no Weight, Consequence, or Consideration whatsoever: And the whole Kingdom of *Ireland* *nonsuited*, in default of Appearance; as if it were a private Cause between *John Dow*, Plaintiff, and *William Row*, Defendant.

WITH great Respect to those honourable Persons, the Committee of Council in *London*, I have not understood them to be our *Governors*, *Counsellors*, or *Judges*. 20 Neither did our Case turn at all upon the Question, whether *Ireland* wanted *Half-pence* or no. For there is no doubt, but we do want both *Half-pence*, Gold and Silver; and we have *numberless* other *Wants*, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name; although they are peculiar to this Nation; to which no other is subject, whom God hath blessed with *Religion* and *Laws*, or any Degree of *Soil* and *Sunshine*: But, for what *Demerits* on our Side, I am altogether in the Dark.

BUT, I do not remember, that our Want of *Half-* 30 *pence* was either affirmed, or denied in any of our Addresses or Declarations, against those of *Wood*: We alledged, the *fraudulent* obtaining and executing his Patent, the Baseness of his Metal, the prodigious Sum to be coined, which might be encreased by Stealth, from foreign Importation and his own Counterfeits, as

well as those at home; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little Gold and Silver, and all our poor Remainder of a very *limited* and *discouraged* Trade: We urged, that the Patent was passed without the least Reference hither; and without Mention of any *Security* given by *Wood*, to receive his own Half-pence upon Demand; both which are contrary to all former Proceedings in the like Cases. These, and many other Arguments we offered; but still the Patent went on,
 10 and at this Day our Ruin would have been half completed; if God, in his Mercy, had not raised an universal Detestation of these Half-pence, in the whole Kingdom; with a firm Resolution never to receive them; since we are not under Obligations to do so by any *Law*, either *Human* or *Divine*.

BUT, in the Name of *God*, and of all *Justice* and *Piety*; when the King's Majesty was pleased that this Patent should pass; is it not to be understood, that he
conceived, believed, and intended it as a gracious Act, for
 20 the Good and Benefit of his Subjects, for the Advantage of a great and fruitful Kingdom; of the most *loyal* Kingdom upon Earth, where no *Hand* or *Voice* was ever lifted up against him; a Kingdom where the Passage is not of three Hours from *Britain*; and a Kingdom where *Papists* have less *Power*, and less *Land*, than in *England*? Can it be denied, or doubted, that his Majesty's Ministers understood and proposed the same End, *the Good of this Nation*, when they advised the passing this Patent? Can the *Person* of *Wood* be other-
 30 wise regarded, than as the *Instrument*, the *Mechanick*, the *Head-workman*, to prepare his Furnace, his Fuel, his Metal, and his Stamps? If I employ a *Shoe-boy*, is it in view to his Advantage, or to my own Convenience? I mention the *Person* of *William Wood* alone; because no *other* appears, and we are not to reason upon *Surmises*; neither would it avail, if they had a real Foundation.

ALLOWING therefore, (for we cannot do less) that this Patent, for the coining of Half-pence, was wholly intended, by a gracious King, and a *wise publick-spirited* Ministry, for the Advantage of *Ireland*; yet when the whole Kingdom to a Man, for whose Good the Patent was designed, do, upon maturest Consideration, universally join, in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning against these Half-pence, as the most ruinous Project that ever was set on Foot, to compleat the Slavery and Destruction of a poor innocent Country: *Is it, was it, can it, or will it* ever be a Question, not whether such a Kingdom, or *William Wood*, should be a Gainer; but whether such a Kingdom should be *wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated*, made the Scene of *Misery and Desolation*, for the Sake of *William Wood*? GOD, of his infinite Mercy, avert this dreadful Judgement; and it is our universal *Wish*, that GOD would put it into *your* Hearts to be his Instruments for so good a Work.

FOR my own Part, who am but *one* Man, of obscure Condition, I do solemnly declare, in the Presence of Almighty GOD, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing Death, rather than submit to receive this *accursed Coin*, or *any other* that shall be liable to the same Objections, until they shall be forced upon me, by a Law of *my own Country*; and if that shall ever happen, I will transport my self into some *foreign Land*, and eat the *Bread of Poverty* among a *free People*.

AM I legally punishable for these Expressions? Shall *another Proclamation* issue against me, because I presume to take my Country's Part against *William Wood*; where her final Destruction is intended? But, whenever You shall please to impose *Silence* upon me, I will submit; because, I look upon your *unanimous Voice* to be the *Voice* of the Nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe to be, in some Manner, the *Voice of God*.

THE great Ignominy of a whole Kingdom, lying so long at *Mercy*, under so *vile* an Adversary, is such a deplorable Aggravation, that the utmost Expressions of Shame and Rage, are too low to set it forth; and therefore, I shall leave it to receive such a Resentment, as is worthy of a *Parliament*.

IT is likewise our universal *Wish*, that his Majesty would grant Liberty to coin Half-pence in this Kingdom, for our own Use; under such Restrictions as
 10 a Parliament *here* shall advise: Since the Power of coining even Gold and Silver, is possessed by every *petty* Prince abroad; and was always practiced by *Scotland*, to the very Time of the *Union*; yet surely *Scotland*, as to Soil, Climate, and Extent, is not, in it's self, a fourth Part the Value of *Ireland*; (for Bishop *Burnet* says, it is not above a fortieth Part in Value, to the rest of *Britain*) and with respect to the Profit that *England* gains from hence, not the forty Thousandth Part. Although I must confess, that a *Mote* in the *Eye*,
 20 or a *Thorn* in the *Side*, is more dangerous and painful than a *Beam*, or a *Spike* at *Distance*.

THE Histories of *England*, and of most other Countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical Effects, from the Abuses of *Coin*; by debasing the Metal, by lessening, or enhancing the Value upon *Occasions*, to the publick Loss; of which we have an Example, within our own Memory in *England*, and another very lately in *France*. It is the
 30 tenderest Point of Government, affecting every Individual, in the highest Degree. When the Value of Money is *arbitrary*, or *unsettled*; no Man can well be said to have any *Property* at all; nor is any Wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting Scars behind it.

I CONCEIVE this poor unhappy Island, to have a Title to some *Indulgence* from *England*; not only upon the

Score of *Christianity, natural Equity, and the general Rights of Mankind*; but chiefly on Account of that *immense Profit* they receive from us; without which, that Kingdom would make a very *different Figure* in *Europe*, from what it doth at present.

THE Rents of Land in *Ireland*, since they have been of *late* so enormously raised, and screwed up, may be computed to about two Millions; whereof one third Part, at least, is directly transmitted to those, who are perpetual Absentees in *England*; as I find by a Computation made 10 with the Assistance of several skilful Gentlemen.

THE other Articles by which we are altogether Losers, and *England* a Gainer; we found to amount to almost as much more. I will only set down as many Heads of them as I can remember; and leave them to the Consideration of those, who understand Accounts better than I pretend to do.

THE *Occasional Absentees*, for Business, Health, or Diversion.

THREE Fourths of the Revenue of the chief Governor, 20 during his Absence; which is usually four Fifths of his Government.

THE whole Revenue of the *Post-Office*.

THE *numerous Pensions* paid to Persons in *England*.

THE Pay of the chief Officers of the Army absent in *England*, which is a great Sum.

FOUR Commissioners of the Revenue, always absent.

CIVIL Employments very numerous, and of great Income.

THE vast Charge of Appeals to the House of Lords, 30 and to the Court of Delegates.

STUDENTS at the Inns of Courts, and the two Universities.

EIGHTY Thousand Pounds sent yearly to *England*, for Coals; whereof the prime Cost is nothing; and therefore, the Profit wholly theirs.

ONE Hundred Thousand Pounds paid several Years past, for Corn sent over hither from *England*; the Effect of our own *great Wisdom* in discouraging *Agriculture*.

THE *kind Liberty* granted us of wearing *Indian* Stuffs, and Calicoes, to gratify the Vanity and Folly of our Women; which, beside the Profit to *England*, is an unconceivable Loss to us; forcing the Weavers to beg in our Streets, or transport themselves to foreign
10 Countries.

THE prodigious Loss to us, and Gain to *England*, by selling them *all* our *Wool* at their own Rates; whereof the Manufacture exceeds above ten Times the prime Cost: *A Proceeding without Example in the Christian or Heathen World*.

OUR own *Wool* returned upon us, in *English* Manufactures, to our infinite Shame and Damage; and the great Advantage of *England*.

THE full Profit of all our *Mines* accruing to *England*;
20 an Effect of great Negligence and Stupidity.

AN Affectation among us, of liking all Kinds of Goods made in *England*.

NOTE, Many of the above Articles have been since particularly computed by another Writer, to whose Treatise the Reader is referred.

THESE and many other Articles, which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious Men to amount to near seven Hundred Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* clear Profit to *England*. And, upon the whole, let
30 any Man look into those Authors who write upon the Subject of *Commerce*, he shall find, that there is not one single Article in the Essentials, or Circumstances of Trade, whereby a Country can be a *Loser*, which we do not possess in the *highest Perfection*; somewhat, in every Particular, that bears a Kind of *Analogy* to *William*

Wood; and now the *Branches* are all cut off, he stands ready with his *Ax* at the *Root*.

UPON this Subject of *perpetual Absentees*, I have spent some Time in very insignificant Reflections; and considering the usual Motives of human Actions, which are *Pleasure*, *Profit*, and *Ambition*, I cannot yet comprehend how those Persons find their Account in *any* of the *three*. I speak not of those *English* Peers or Gentlemen, who, beside their Estates at home, have Possessions here; for, in that Case, the Matter is desperate; but I 10 mean those Lords, and wealthy Knights, or Squires, whose Birth, and partly their Education, and *all* their Fortune (except some Trifle, and that in very few Instances) are in this Kingdom. I knew many of them well enough, during several Years, when I resided in *England*; and truly I could not discover that the *Figure* they made was, by any Means, a Subject for *Envy*; at least it gave me *two very different Passions*: For, excepting the Advantage of going now and then to an *Opera*, or sometimes appearing *behind a Croud* at Court; or 20 adding to the Ring of *Coaches* in *Hide-Park*, or losing their Money at the *Chocolate-House*; or getting News, Votes, and Minutes, about five Days before us in *Dublin*; I say, besides these, and a few other Privileges of *less* Importance, their Temptations to live in *London*, were beyond my Knowledge or Conception. And I used to wonder, how a Man of Birth and Spirit, could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a *foreign* Country, when he might live with Lustre in *his own*; and even at less than half that Expence, which he 30 *strains* himself to make, without obtaining any *one* End; except that which happened to the *Frog* when he would needs contend for Size with the *Ox*. I have been told by Scholars, that *Cæsar* said, he would rather be the *first* Man, in I know not what Village, than the *second* in *Rome*. This, perhaps, was a Thought only fit for

Cæsar: But to be *preceded* by *Thousands*, and *neglected* by *Millions*; to be wholly without *Power*, *Figure*, *Influence*, *Honour*, *Credit*, or *Distinction*, is not, in my poor Opinion, a very *amiable Situation* of Life, to a Person of *Title*, or *Wealth*, who can so cheaply and easily *shine* in his native Country.

BUT, besides the depopulating of the Kingdom, the leaving so many Parts of it wild and uncultivated, the Ruin of so many Country-Seats and Plantations, 10 the cutting down all the Woods to supply Expences in *England*; the Absence of so many noble and wealthy Persons, hath been the Cause of *another fatal Consequence*, which few perhaps have been aware of. For if that *very considerable* Number of Lords, who possess the amplest Fortunes here, had been content to *live at home*, and attend the Affairs of their own Country in *Parliament*; the Weight, Reputation, and Dignity thereby added to that noble House, would, in all human Probability, have prevented *certain Proceedings*, which 20 are now *ever to be lamented*; because they *never can be remedied*: And we might have then *decided our own Properties among our selves*, without being forced to travel five Hundred Miles by Sea and Land, to *another Kingdom*, for Justice; to our infinite Expence, Vexation, and Trouble: Which is a Mark of *Servitude* without Example, from the Practice of any Age or Nation in the World.

I HAVE sometimes wondered, upon what Motive the Peerage of *England* were so desirous to determine *our* 30 Controversies; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent *Appeals* from hence, have been very *irksome* to that illustrious Body; and whoever hath frequented the *painted Chamber*, and *Court of Requests*, must have observed, that they are never so *nobly* filled, as when an *Irish Appeal* is under Debate.

THE Peers of *Scotland*, who are very numerous, were

content to reside in their Castles and Houses, in that *bleak and barren Climate*; and although some of them made frequent Journies to *London*, yet I do not remember any of their greatest Families, till very lately, to have made *England* their constant Habitation, before the *Union*: Or, if they did, I am sure it was generally *to their own Advantage*; and whatever they got, was employed to cultivate and encrease their own Estates; and by that Means enrich themselves and their Country.

As to the great Number of rich *Absentees*, under the 10 Degree of *Peers*; what particular ill Effects their Absence may have upon this Kingdom, besides those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a Point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another Kingdom, upon great Estates here; and have lost all Regards to their own Country, further then upon Account of the *Revenues they receive from it*: I say, whether such Persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to *vacant Seats*, who have no Interest 20 here, except a precarious Employment; and consequently can have no Views, but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced: This, I am sure, is a very melancholly Question, *if it be a Question at all*.

BUT, besides the prodigious Profit which *England* receives by the transmittal thither of two Thirds of the Revenues of this whole Kingdom; it hath another mighty Advantage, by making our Country a *Receptacle*, wherein to *disburthen* themselves of their *super-numerary* Pretenders to Offices; Persons of second-rate Merit in their own Country; who, like *Birds of Passage*, 30 most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their *Credit* and *Employments* are at an End. So that *Ireland* may justly say what *Luther* said of himself; *Poor Ireland maketh many rich*.

If amidst all our Difficulties, I should venture to assert, that we have one great Advantage, provided we

could improve it as we ought; I believe most of my Readers would be long in conjecturing what *possible* Advantage could ever fall to our Share. However, it is certain, that all the *Regular Seeds* of *Party* and *Faction* among us are entirely rooted out, and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of *equivocal* Generation, without any Seed at all; and will justly be imputed to a Degree of Stupidity beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the Score of our *Birth-place* and
 10 *Climate*.

THE *Parties* in this Kingdom (including those of modern Date) are, First, of those who have been charged or suspected to *favour the Pretender*; and those who were *zealous Opposers of him*. Secondly, of those who were *for and against a Toleration of Dissenters by Law*. Thirdly, of *High and Low Church*; or, (to speak in the *Cant* of the Times) of *Whig* and *Tory*: And, Fourthly, of *Court and Country*. If there be any more, they are beyond my Observation or Politicks: For as to
 20 *subaltern* or *occasional Parties*, they have all been *Derivations* from the same Originals.

Now, it is manifest, that all these Incitements to *Faction*, *Party*, and *Division* are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the *Pretender*, his Cause is both *desperate* and *obsolete*: There are very few now alive who were *Men* in his Father's Time, and in that Prince's Interest; and in all others, the Obligation of Conscience hath no Place; even the *Papists* in general, of any Substance, or Estates, and their *Priests* almost univer-
 30 sally, are what we call *Whigs* in the Sense which by that Word is generally understood. They feel the *Smart*, and see the *Scars* of their former *Wounds*; and very well know, that they must be made a *Sacrifice* to the least Attempts towards a *Change*; although it cannot be doubted, that they would be glad to have their *Superstition* restored, under *any* Prince whatsoever.

SECONDLY, The *Dissenters* are now *tolerated by Law*; neither do we observe any *Murmurs* at present from that Quarter, except those *reasonable* Complaints they make of *Persecution*, because they are excluded from Civil Employments; but their Number being very small in either *House* of Parliament, they are not yet in a Situation to erect a *Party*: Because, however indifferent Men may be with regard to *Religion*, they are now grown wise enough to know, that if such a *Latitude* were allowed to *Dissenters*; the few small Employments left us in 10 Cities and Corporations, would find *other Hands* to lay hold on them.

THIRDLY, The Dispute between *High* and *Low Church* is now at an End; two Thirds of the *Bishops* having been promoted in *this* Reign, and most of them from *England*, who have bestowed *all* Preferments in their Gift to those they could well *confide in*: The *Deanries* all except Three, and many principal Church Livings, are in the Donation of the Crown: So that we already possess *such a Body of Clergy* as will never en- 20 gage in Controversy upon that *antiquated* and *exploded* Subject.

LASTLY, As to *Court* and *Country Parties*, so famous and avowed under most Reigns in *English* Parliaments: This Kingdom hath not, for several Years past been a proper Scene whereon to exercise such Contentions; and is now less proper than ever; many great Employments for Life being in *distant* Hands, and the *Reversions* *diligently watched and secured*; the temporary Ones of any *inviting* Value are all bestowed *elsewhere* as fast 30 as they drop; and the few remaining, are of too low Consideration to create Contests about them, except among younger Brothers, or Tradesmen like my self. And, therefore, to institute a *Court* and *Country Party* without *Materials*, would be a very new System in Politicks, and what I believe was never thought on

before; nor, unless in a *Nation of Ideots*, can ever succeed. For the most ignorant *Irish Cottager* will not *sell his Cow for a Groat*.

THEREFORE, I conclude, that all *Party and Faction*, with regard to publick Proceedings, are now extinguished in this Kingdom; * neither doth it appear in view how they can possibly *revive*; unless some new Causes be administred; which cannot be done without *crossing the Interests of those who are greatest Gainers by*
 10 *continuing the same Measures*. And, general Calamities without *Hope of Redress*, are allowed to be the great *Uniters of Mankind*.

HOWEVER we may dislike the *Causes*; yet this *Effect* of begetting an universal Concord among us in all *National Debates*, as well as in *Cities, Corporations*, and *Country Neighbourhoods*, may keep us at least alive, and in a Condition to eat the little Bread allowed us in *Peace and Amity*. I have heard of a Quarrel in a Tavern, where all were at Daggers-drawing, till one of the
 20 Company cryed out, desiring to know the *Subject of the Quarrel*; which, when none of them could tell, they put up their Swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the Evening in *Quiet*. The *former Part* hath been our Case; I hope the *latter* will be so too; that we shall *sit down* amicably together, at least until we have *Something* that may give us a Title to fall out; since Nature hath instructed even a Brood of *Goslings* to *stick together* while the *Kite* is hovering over their Heads.

IT is certain, that a firm *Union* in any Country, where
 30 every Man wishes the same Thing with relation to the Publick, may, in several Points of the greatest Importance, in some Measure, supply the *Defect of Power*; and even of those *Rights which are the natural and undoubted Inheritance of Mankind*. If the universal *Wish* of the

* Note, *Since this Discourse was written, it hath appeared by ex-* perience, that the Author was much mistaken in his Conjectures. '35

Nation upon any Point, were declared by the *unanimous* Vote of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of Lords; I should think my self obliged in Conscience to act in my Sphere according to that Vote; because, in all free Nations, I take the proper Definition of *Law* to be *the Will of the Majority of those who have the Property in Land*; which, if there be a Monarchy, is to be confirmed by the Royal Assent. And, although such *Votes* or *Declarations* have not received such a Confirmation, for certain *accidental Reasons*; yet I think they ¹⁰ ought to be of much Weight with the *Subject*; provided they neither oppose the King's Prerogative, endanger the Peace of the Nation, nor infringe any Law already in Force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for Instance, if Nine in Ten of the House of Commons, and a reasonable Number of native temporal Peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered *Brass Coin*, except under certain Limitations and Securities, should be deemed as *Enemies to the King and the Nation*; I should think it a heinous Sin in my ²⁰ self to act contrary to such a Vote: And, if the same Power should declare the same *Censure* against those who wore *Indian Stuffs* and *Calicoes*, or *Woollen Manufactures imported from Abroad*, whereby this Nation is reduced to the lowest Ebb of Misery; I should *readily, heartily, chearfully* pay Obedience; and to my utmost Power *persuade* others to do the like: Because, there is no *Law* of this Land obliging us either to *receive such Coin*, or to *wear such foreign Manufactures*.

* UPON this last Article, I could humbly wish that ³⁰ the Reverend the *Clergy* would set us an Example, by contenting themselves with wearing Gowns, and other Habiliments of *Irish Drapery*; which, as it would be

* Note, This hath since been *Author*; but much defeated by the *most Infamous Fraud of Shop-keepers*. '35

some Incitement to the *Laity*, and set many Hands to Work; so they would find their Advantage in the *Cheapness*; which is a Circumstance not to be neglected by *too many* among that venerable Body. * And, in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious Artists of the Weaving Trade, would contrive some decent Stuffs and Silks for *Clergymen*, at reasonable Rates.

I HAVE pressed several of our most substantial Brethren, that the whole Corporations of *Weavers* in
 10 Silk and Woollen, would publish some *Proposals*, (I wish they would do it to both Houses of Parliament) inviting Persons of all Degrees, and of both Sexes, to wear the Woollen and Silk Manufactures of our own Country; entring into solemn, mutual Engagements, that the Buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable Ware for his Money; and at a certain Rate, without the Trouble of cheapning: So that, if I sent a Child for a Piece of Stuff of a particular Colour and Fineness, I
 20 should be sure not to be deceived; or if I had Reason to complain, the Corporation should give me immediate Satisfaction; and the Name of the Tradesman who did me the Wrong, should be published; and Warning given not to deal with Him for the future; unless the Matter plainly appeared to be a Mistake: For, besides the Trouble of going from Shop to Shop; an ignorant Customer runs the Hazard of being cheated in the Price and Goodness of what he buys; being forced to an unequal Combat with a dextrous, and dishonest Man, in his own Calling. Thus our Goods fall under
 30 a general Disreputation; and the Gentry call for *English* Cloth, or Silk, from an Opinion they have (and often too justly by our own Faults) that the *Goodness* more than makes up for the Difference of Price.

* This Scheme was likewise prevail on them to put it in Practice.
 often urged to the *Weavers* by the '35
 supposed Author; but he could never

BESIDES, it hath been the sottish and ruinous Practice of us Tradesmen, upon any great Demand of Goods, either at Home or from Abroad, to raise the Prices immediately, and manufacture the said Goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

OF this foul and foolish Proceeding, too many Instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one whereby this poor Kingdom hath received such a fatal Blow in the *only Article of Trade* allowed us of any Importance, that nothing but the ¹⁰ Success of *Wood's Project*, could outdo it. During the late Plague in *France*, the *Spaniards*, who buy their Linnen Cloths in that Kingdom, not daring to venture thither for Fear of Infection; a very great Demand was made here for that Commodity, and exported to *Spain*: But, whether by the Ignorance of the Merchants, or Dishonesty of the *Northern Weavers*, or the Collusion of both; the Ware was so bad, and the Price so excessive, that except some small Quantity, which was sold below the prime Cost, the greatest Part was returned back: ²⁰ And I have been told by very intelligent Persons, that if we had been fair Dealers, the whole Current of the Linnen Trade to *Spain* would have taken its Course from hence.

IF any Punishment were to be inflicted on *Numbers of Men*; surely there could none be thought too great for such a Race of *Traytors*, and *Enemies* to God and their Country; who for the Prospect of a little *present* Gain, do not only ruin themselves, (for that alone would be an *Example* to the rest, and a *Blessing* to the Nation) ³⁰ but sell their Souls to Hell, and their Country to Destruction: And, if the *Plague* could have been confined only to these who were *Partakers in the Guilt*, had it travelled hither from *Marseilles*, those Wretches would have died with less Title to *Pity*, than a *Highwayman* going to the Gallows.

BUT, it happens very *unluckily*, that, for *some Time past*, all Endeavours or Proposals from private Persons, to advance the publick Service; however honestly and innocently designed, have been called *FLYING IN THE KING'S FACE*: And this, to my Knowledge, hath been the Style of *some Persons*, whose *Ancestors*, (I mean those among them who *had any*) and *themselves*, have been *flying in Princes's Faces* these four Score Years; and from their own Inclinations would do so still, if their
 10 Interest did not lead them rather to *fly in the Face* of a Kingdom; which hath given them *Wings* to enable them for such a *Flight*.

THUS, about four Years ago, when a *Discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our People to wear their own Woollen Manufactures, full of the most dutiful Expressions to the King, and without the least *Party Hint*; it was termed *flying in the King's Face*; the *Printer* was prosecuted in the Manner we all remember; (and, I hope, *it will somewhere be remembered further*) the
 20 *Jury* kept eleven Hours, and sent back nine Times, till they were under the Necessity of leaving the Prisoner to the Mercy of the Court, by a *special Verdict*. The †*Judge* on the Bench *invoking God for his Witness*, when he asserted, that the Author's Design was to bring in the *Pretender*.

AND thus also, my own poor Endeavours to prevent the Ruin of my Country, by the Admission of *Wood's Coin*, was called by the same Persons, *flying in the King's Face*; which I directly deny: For I cannot allow
 30 that *vile Representation* of the Royal Countenance in *William Wood's adulterate Copper*, to be his sacred Majesty's *Face*; or if it were, my *flying* was not against the *Impression*, but the *Baseness* of the *Metal*; because

* The Author here means a preceding Discourse, entitled, A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish

Manufactures. '35

† NOTE, Judge *Whitshed*. '35

I well remembered, that the *Image* which *Nebuchadnezer* commanded to be set up, for all Men to fall down and worship it, was not of COPPER, but pure GOLD. And I am heartily sorry, we have so few *Royal Images* of that *Metal* among us; the Sight whereof, although it could hardly encrease our Veneration for his Majesty, which is already so great; yet would very much *enliven* it with a Mixture of *Comfort* and *Satisfaction*.

ALEXANDER the Great, would suffer no Statuary, except *Phidias*, to carve his Image in Stone or Metal. 10 How must he have treated such an Operator as *Wood*, who goes about with *Sacks-full* of *Dross*; odiously misrepresenting his Prince's *Countenance*; and would force them, by Thousands, upon every one of us, at above *six Times the Value*.

BUT, notwithstanding all that hath been objected by *William Wood* himself; together with his *Favourers*, *Abettors*, *Supporters*, either *publick* or *private*; by those who *connive* at his Project, or *discourage* and *discountenance* his *Opposers*, for fear of lessening their *Favour*, or 20 *hazarding* their *Employments*; by those who endeavour to *damp* the *Spirit* of the People raised against this Coin; or check the honest Zeal of such as by their *Writings*, or *Discourses*, do all they can to keep it up: Those *Softners*, *Sweetners*, *Compounders*, and *Expedient-mongers*, who *shake* their *Heads* so strongly, that we can *hear* their *Pockets jingle*; I did never imagine, that in detecting the Practices of such *Enemies* to the Kingdom, I was *flying* in the *King's Face*; or thought they were better *Representers* of his Majesty, than that very *Coin*, for which 30 they are *secret* or *open* Advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those *Wishes* of the Nation, which may be in our Power to attain; I think they might be summed up in these few following.

FIRST, That an End might be put to our Apprehensions

of *Wood's* Half-pence, and to any Danger of the *like* destructive Scheme for the future.

SECONDLY, That Half-pence might be coined in this Kingdom, by a publick Mint, with due Limitations.

THIRDLY, That the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared by some *unanimous* and *hearty Votes*, against wearing any Silk or Woollen Manufactures, imported from abroad; as likewise against wearing *Indian* Silks or Calicoes,
10 which are forbidden under the highest Penalties in *England*: And it behoves us, to take Example from so wise a Nation; because we are under a *greater Necessity* to do so, since *we* are not allowed to *export* any Woollen Manufactures of our own; which is the principal Branch of foreign Trade in *England*.

FOURTHLY, That some effectual Methods may be taken to civilize the poorer Sort of our Natives, in all those Parts of this Kingdom where the *Irish* abound; by introducing among them our Language and Customs;
20 for want of which they live in the utmost Ignorance, Barbarity and Poverty; giving themselves wholly up to Idleness, Nastyness, and Thievery, to the very great and just Reproach of too many Landlords. And, if I had in me the least Spirit of a *Projector*, I would engage that this might be effected in a few Years, at a very inconsiderable Charge.

FIFTHLY, That due Encouragement should be given to *Agriculture*; and a Stop put to that pernicious Practice of Graziers, engrossing vast Quantities of Land,
30 sometimes at great Distance; whereby the Country is extremely depopulated.

SIXTHLY, That the Defects in those Acts for planting Forrest Trees, might be fully supplied, since they have hitherto been wholly ineffectual; except about the Demesnes of a few Gentlemen; and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly.

Neither hath there yet been due Care taken to preserve what is planted, or to inclose Grounds; not one Hedge, in a Hundred, coming into Maturity, for want of Skill and Industry. The Neglect of *copsing* Woods cut down, hath likewise been of very evil Consequences. And if Men were restrained from that unlimited Liberty of *cutting down their own Woods* before the proper Time, as they are in some other Countries; it would be a mighty Benefit to the Kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another Example in *Europe*, of such a prodigious 10 Quantity of excellent Timber cut down, in so short a Time, with so little Advantage to the Country, either in *Shipping* or *Buillding*.

I MAY add, that absurd Practice of cutting *Turf*, without any Regularity; whereby great Quantities of restorable Land are made utterly desperate, many Thousands of Cattle destroyed, the *Turf* more difficult to come at, and carry home, and less fit for burning; the Air made unwholsome by stagnating Pools and Marshes; and the very Sight of such Places offensive 20 to those who ride by. Neither should that odious Custom be allowed, of cutting *Scraws*, (as they call them) which is flaying off the green Surface of the Ground, to cover their Cabbins; or make up their Ditches; sometimes in shallow Soils, where all is Gravel within a few Inches; and sometimes in low Ground, with a thin Green-Sword, and sloughy underneath; which last turns all into Bog, by this Mismanagement. And, I have heard from very skilful Country-men, that by these two Practices in *Turf* and *Scraws*, the Kingdom 30 loseth some Hundreds of Acres of profitable Land every Year; besides the irreparable Loss of many Skirts of Boggs, which have a green Coat of Grass, and yet are mangled for *Turf*; and, besides the Want of Canals, by regular Cutting, which would not only be a great Convenience for bringing their *Turf* home at an easy

Rate; but likewise render even the larger Boggs more dry and safe, for Summer Pasture.

THESE, and some other Speculations of the like Kind, I had intended to publish in a particular Discourse against this Session of Parliament; because, in some Periods of my Life, I had Opportunity and Curiosity to observe, from what Causes those great Errors, in every Branch of Country Management, have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but
 10 few, out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving Offence; which I have endeavoured, by all possible Means, to avoid. And, for the same Reason, I chose to add here, the little I thought proper to say, on this Subject.

BUT, as to the Lands of those who are *perpetual Absentees*, I do not see any Probability of their being ever improved. In former Times, their Tenants sat at easy Rents; but for some Years past, they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the
 20 Dexterity of *merciless Agents* from *England*, than even those held under the severest Landlords here. I was assured upon the Place, by great Numbers of credible People, that a prodigious Estate in the County of *Cork*, being let upon Leases for Lives, and great Fines paid; the Rent was so high, that the Tenants begged Leave to surrender their *Leases*, and were content to lose their *Fines*.

THE cultivating and Improvement of Land, is certainly a Subject worthy of the highest Enquiry in
 30 any Country, but especially in ours; where we are so strangely limited in every Branch of Trade, that can be of Advantage to us; and utterly deprived of those, which are of the greatest Importance; whereof I defy the most learned Man in *Europe*, to produce me an Example from any other Kingdom in the World: For, we are denied the *Benefits* which *God* and *Nature*

intended to us; as manifestly appears by our *happy Situation for Commerce*, and the *great Number of our excellent Ports*. So that, I think, little is left us, beside the cultivating our own Soil, encouraging *Agriculture*, and making great Plantations of Trees, that we might not be under the Necessity of sending for *Corn* and *Bark* from *England*, and *Timber* from other Countries. This would increase the Number of our Inhabitants, and help to consume our natural Products, as well as Manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what 10
I once ventured to say to a great Man in *England*; That few *Politicians*, with all their Schemes, are half so useful Members of a Commonwealth, as an *honest Farmer*; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring and planting, hath increased the intrinsick Value of a Piece of Land; and thereby done a *perpetual Service* to his Country; which it is a great Controversy, whether any of the *former* ever did, since the Creation of the World; but no Controversy at all, that Ninety-nine in a
Hundred, have done Abundance of Mischief. 20

*A FULL AND TRUE ACCOUNT OF
THE SOLEMN PROCESSION TO
THE GALLOWS, AT THE EXE-
CUTION OF WILLIAM WOOD,
ESQUIRE, AND HARD-WARE-MAN.

**At the Time when the Coinage of Half-pence by William Wood made most Noise, several Papers of Humour and Ridicule ran about the Town and Kingdom, to expose that pernicious Project; among others, that which follows; and is supposed to be written by the Author of the Drapier's Letters: We have, therefore, ventured to reprint it in its proper Place. '35*

WOOD'S EXECUTION

Written in the Year 1724.

SOME Time ago, upon a Report spread, that *William Wood*, Hard-Ware-Man, was concealed in his Brother-in-law's House here in *Dublin*; a great Number of People of different Conditions, and of both Sexes, crowded about the Door, determinately bent to take Revenge upon him as a Coiner and Counterfeiter. Among the Rest, a certain curious Person, standing in
10 a Corner, observed that they all discovered their Resentments in the proper Terms and Expressions of their several Trades and Callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and was pleased to communicate them to me; with Leave to publish them, for the Use of those who at any Time hereafter may be at a Loss for proper Words, wherein to express their good Dispositions towards the said *William Wood*.

The People cried out to have him delivered into their Hands.

- 20 Says the P—l—t Man, *Expell* him the *House*.
2d. P—l—t Man, I second that *Motion*.
Cook. I'll *baste* him.
2d. *Cook*. I'll give him his *Belly-full*.
3d. *Cook*. I'll give him a *Lick* in the *Chops*.
4th. *Cook*. I'll *Sowce* him.
Drunken man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.
Bookseller. I'll turn over a *New Leaf* with him.
Sadler. I'll *pummel* him.
Glazier. I'll make the *Light* shine through him.
30 *Grocer*. I'll *Pepper* him.
Groom. I'll *Curry* his *Hide*.
'*Pothecary*. I'll *Pound* him.
2d 'Pothecary. I'll beat him to *Mummy*.
School-master. I'll make him an *Example*.

Rabbit-Catcher. I'll *Ferret* him.

Paver. I'll *Thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *Rap*.

WHIG. *Down* with him.

TORY. *Up* with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *Grinders*.

2d. *Miller.* *Dam* him.

Boat-man. *Sink* him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *Kennel*.

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.

10

Bagnio-man. I'll make the *House* too *hot* for him.

Whore. *Pox* rot him.

2d. *Whore.* Let me *alone* with him.

3d. *Whore.* *Clap* him up.

Mustard-Maker. I'll have him by the *Nose*.

Curate. I'll make the *Devil* come out of him.

Popish Priest. I'll send him to the *Devil*.

Dancing-Master. I'll teach him *better Manners*.

2d. *Dancing-Master.* I'll make him cut a *Caper* three

Story high.

20

Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.

Taylor. I'll sit in his *Skirts*.

2d. *Taylor.* *Hell* is too good for him.

3d. *Taylor.* I'll *pink* his *Doublet*.

4th. *Taylor.* I'll make his *A*— make *Buttons*.

Basker-Maker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fidler. I'll have him by the *Ears*.

2d. *Fidler.* I'll bang him to some *Tune*.

Barber. I'll have him by the *Beard*.

2d. *Barber.* I'll pull his *Whiskers*.

30

3d. *Barber.* I'll make his *Hair* stand an *End*.

4th. *Barber.* I'll *comb* his *Locks*.

Tinker. I'll try what *Metal* he's made of.

Cobler. I'll make an *End* of him.

Tobacconist. I'll make him *Smoak*.

2d. *Tobacconist.* I'll make him set up his *Pipes*.

- Gold-finder.* I'll make him *Stink*.
Hackney-Coachman. I'll make him know his *Driver*.
2d. *Hackney-Coachman.* I'll *drive* him to the Devil.
Butcher. I'll have a *Limb* of him.
2d. *Butcher.* Let us *blow him up*.
3d. *Butcher.* My *Knife* in him.
Nurse. I'll *Swaddle* him.
Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the Rogue in the *Pond*.
Ostler. I'll *rub him down*.
10 *Shoemaker.* Set him in the *Stocks*.
Banker. I'll kick him to *Half-Crowns*.
2d. *Banker.* I'll *pay* him off.
Bowler. I'll have a *Rubber* with him.
Gamester. I'll make his *Bones rattle*.
Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his *Sides*.
Gardener. I'll make him *water his Plants*.
Ale-wife. I'll *reckon* with him.
Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *Horns*.
Old-Woman. I'll *mumble* him.
20 *Hangman.* I'll *throttle* him.

BUT, at last, the People having received Assurances, that *William Wood* was neither in the House nor Kingdom, appointed certain Commissioners to hang him in Effigie; whereof the whole Ceremony and Procession, deserve to be transmitted to Posterity.

FIRST, the Way was cleared by a Detachment of the *Black-Guards*; with short Sticks in their Hands, and Cockades of Paper in their Hats.

Then appeared *William Wood*, Esq; represented to
30 the Life by an old Piece of carved Timber, taken from the Keel of a Ship. Upon his Face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper Distances, several Pieces of his own Coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his Calling, and his Crime. He wore on his Head a Peruke very artfully composed of Four old Mops;

a Halter about his Neck served him for a Cravat. His Cloaths were indeed not so neat and elegant as is usual with Persons in his Condition; which some censorious People imputed to Affectation; for he was covered with a large Rugg of several Colours in Patch-Work; he was born upon the Shoulders of an able-bodied Porter. In his March by *St. Stephen's-Green*, he often bowed on both Sides, to shew his Respects to the Company; his Deportment was grave, and his Countenance though somewhat pensive, was very composed. 10

BEHIND him followed his Father alone, in a long mourning Cloak, with his Hat over his Nose, and a Handkerchief in his left Hand to wipe the Tears from his Face.

NEXT in Order marched the Executioner *himself in Person*; whose venerable Aspect drew the Eyes of the whole Assembly upon him; but he was further distinguished by a Halter which he bore upon his left Shoulder as the Badge of his Office.

THEN followed two Persons Hand in Hand; the 20 one representing *William Wood's* *Brother-in-law; the other a certain Sadler, his intimate Friend, whose Name I forget. Each had a small Kettle in his Hands, wherein was a reasonable Quantity of the new Half-pence. At proper Periods they shook their Kettles, which made a melancholly Sound, like the Ringing of a Knell for their Partner and Confederate.

AFTER these followed several Officers, whose Assistance was necessary for the more decent Performance of the great Work in Hand. 30

THE Procession was closed with an innumerable Crowd of People, who frequently sent out loud Huzza's; which were censured by wiser Heads as a Mark of Inhumanity, and an ungenerous Triumph over the Unfortunate; without duly considering the various

* *One Molyneux an Ironmonger.* '35

Vicissitudes of human Life. However, as it becomes an impartial Historian, I will not conceal one Observation, That Mr. *Wood* himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least Alteration in his Countenance; only when he came within Sight of the fatal Tree, which happened to be of the same Species of Timber with his own Person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

AT the Place of Execution, he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a Tear. He made no Resistance,
10 but submitted himself, with great Resignation, to the Hangman, who was, indeed, thought to use him with too much Roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him Pardon. His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in Letters of GOLD. Being asked whether it were his own true genuine SPEECH, he did not deny it.

THOSE of the softer Sex who attended the Ceremony, lamented that so comely and well-timbered a Man,
should come to so untimely an End. He hung but
20 a short Time; for upon feeling his Breast, they found it cold and stiff.

IT is strange to think how this melancholly Spectacle turned the Hearts of the People to Compassion: When he was cut down, the Body was carried through the whole City to gather Contributions for his Wake; and all Sorts of People shewed their Liberality according as they were able. The Ceremony was performed in an Ale-house of Distinction, and in a Manner suitable to the Quality of the Deceased. While the Attendants
30 were discoursing about his Funeral, a worthy Member of the Assembly stood up, and proposed, that the Body should be carried out next Day, and burned with the same Pomp and Formalities used at his Execution; which would prevent the Malice of his Enemies, and all Indignities that might be done to his Remains. This was agreed to; and about Nine a Clock on the

following Morning there appeared a Second Procession. But, Burning not having been any Part of the Sentence; Authority thought fit to interpose, and the Corps was rescued by the Civil Power.

WE hear the Body is not yet interred; which occasions many Speculations. But what is more wonderful, it is positively assured by many who pretend to have been Eye-witnesses; that there does not appear the least Alteration in any one Lineament or Feature of his Countenance, nor visible Decay in his whole Frame, ¹⁰ further than what had been made by Worms long before his Execution. The Solution of which Difficulty, I shall leave among Naturalists.

ERRORS OF HARDING AND FAULKNER

THE following is a list of all the 'gross errors' which have been corrected in the present text of the first five Letters. Unless otherwise stated, the reading adopted is the same as that found in the '25, '30, '35 editions.

PRESENT TEXT		HARDING
P. 4, l. 25	oblige	oblidge
P. 7, l. 13	<i>Money.</i>	<i>Money</i>
P. 13, l. 8	<i>Tyrone's</i>	<i>Tyrane's</i>
P. 14, l. 9	must	most
P. 20, l. 30	Family	Family,
P. 26, l. 18	Mr. <i>Woods</i>	Mr, <i>Wood's</i>
P. 38, l. 10	<i>Lieutenant</i>	<i>Lieutenant</i>
P. 41, ll. 23-4	Gainer,...Difference,	Gainer only,
	(first corrected in '30)	
P. 44, ll. 9-10	<i>extra-ordinary</i>	<i>extraordinrry</i>
P. 48, l. 1	<i>Half-pence</i>	<i>Half-pence,</i>
	(corrected only in Hawkesworth and later Dublin editions)	
l. 30	consist	consiist
P. 51, l. 17	at all	attall
P. 53, l. 24	from any	to any
P. 54, l. 11	Representatives	Representative
l. 34	Confusion.	Confusion,
P. 55, l. 23	Hammer	Hammar
P. 62, l. 5	Counterfeits	Countefeits
P. 69, l. 17	Counsel	Council
	(first corrected in '30)	
P. 70, l. 3	Prerogative;	Prerogative,
	(Harding, p. 5, catchword, and '30, '35 have the semi-colon)	.

PRESENT TEXT	HARDING
P. 71, l. 27 it: (first corrected in '30)	it.
l. 31 have	hvae
P. 74, l. 11 Jest (although corrected in '35, this gross error has been kept in most later editions)	Test
P. 82, l. 8 Writer (first corrected in '35)	Writer,
l. 32 required, (first corrected in '35)	required;
P. 85, l. 1 <i>Indiscretion</i>	<i>Indiscesion</i>
P. 86, l. 6 <i>Feet</i> (corrected in '30, but not in '35)	<i>Feet,</i>
P. 103, l. 10 <i>together,</i> (first corrected in '30; <i>together</i> ; in '35)	<i>together.</i>
P. 105, l. 29 <i>Dependents, a</i> (<i>Dependents</i> ; in '35)	<i>Dependents. A</i>
P. 106, l. 22 tremble.	tremble,
P. 109, l. 26 <i>Sidley</i> (first corrected in '35)	<i>Sidney</i>
P. 113, l. 30 as (first corrected in '30)	is
l. 32 as (first corrected in '35, 2nd Issue)	is

In the present text of the last two Letters the following errors or peculiarities of the printer have been corrected:

PRESENT TEXT	FAULKNER
P. 121, l. 3 <i>26th.</i> (corrected to agree with the date given on p. 142)	<i>6th.</i>
P. 126, l. 14 declare	delcare
P. 128, l. 25 <i>Ireland</i>	<i>Irelaud</i>
P. 161, l. 14 <i>Opposers</i> (corrected as in p. 168, l. 20)	<i>Opposors</i>

PRESENT TEXT		FAULKNER
P. 162, l. 6	Situation (corrected as in p. 172, l. 2)	Scituation
P. 164, l. 23	<i>Woollen</i> (corrected as in p. 165, ll. 10, 13)	<i>Woolen</i>
P. 168, l. 12	<i>Sacks-full</i> (corrected as in catchword, p. 237, and later Dublin editions; Hawkesworth prints <i>Sack-fulls</i> .)	<i>Sacks-fulls</i>
P. 169, l. 3	SECONDLY,	SECONDLY;

TABLE of ABBREVIATED TITLES

used in the NOTES and APPENDIXES

- Works* (1814). *The Works of Jonathan Swift, &c.* with notes and a Life by Walter Scott, Esq. Edinburgh 1814. 19 vols.
- Works* (1824). The same. The second edition, 1824.
- Works.* *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, edited by Temple Scott. London 1897-1908. 12 vols.
- Aldine.* *The Poetical Works of Jonathan Swift*, with a Life by the Rev. John Mitford. London 1833-4. 3 vols.
- Corr.* *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift, D.D.*, edited by F. Elrington Ball. London 1910-14. 6 vols.
- Letters to Ford.* *The Letters of Jonathan Swift to Charles Ford*, edited by David Nichol Smith. Oxford 1935.
- S.P. 63.* *Irish State Papers*, Public Record Office; No. 63, vols. 380-6.
- Wake MSS.* *Archbishop Wake MSS.*, Epist. 14, vol. CCXLVII, Christ Church Library, Oxford. N.B. Manuscript copies of the letters from Edward Synge, Archbishop of Tuam, and from William Nicolson, Bishop of Derry, to Archbishop Wake are also in the Gilbert Collection, Dublin. *Phillipps MSS.* 7424, vol. 2.
- Dublin Newspapers.* The various Dublin papers referred to are all to be found in the last volume of DUBLIN NEWSPAPERS (Miscellaneous), 1701-24, 7 vols., fol.; Gilbert Collection, Dublin.
- Commons' Journals.* *The Journals of the House of Commons of Ireland*, Dublin 1796-1800.
- Lords' Journals.* *The Journals of the House of Lords of Ireland*, Dublin 1779-86.
- Statutes.* *The Statutes of the Realm*, London 1810-28. 12 vols.
- Boulter's Letters.* *Letters written by His Excellency, Hugh Boulter, D.D., Lord Primate of All Ireland, &c.* Dublin 1770. 2 vols.
- Walpole.* *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford*, ed. by William Coxe. London 1798. 3 vols.

- St. Patrick's. The History and Antiquities of the Collegiate and Cathedral Church of St. Patrick, near Dublin, &c.*, by William Monck Mason, Esq. Dublin 1820.
- Ireland. A History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, by W. E. H. Lecky (new impression). London 1919.
- English in Ireland. The English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, by J. A. Froude. London 1872. 3 vols.
- Coinage of William Wood. The Coinage of William Wood, 1722-33*, by Philip Nelson. Brighton 1903.
- Coinage of Ireland. The Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin, and Pewter, 1460-1826*, by Philip Nelson, M.D. Liverpool 1905.

NOTES

LETTER I

P. 1, l. 19. *M. B. Drapier*. If there is any special significance in the letters M. B., or in the spelling 'Drapier', no one appears yet to have discovered it. The question has been asked (see *N. and Q.*, III, ix. 533; x. 55), but the only answer was that the spelling was French. It is worth noticing that in Swift's letters to Ford at this time he spells it first 'Draper', and afterwards 'Drapier' (see *Letters to Ford*, pp. 82, 112, 116), which at least suggests the possibility that it was a chance spelling of the printer's, which Swift liked the look of and adopted. The spelling 'Draiper' occurs also on the title-page of the Limerick reprint of *Letter II*. Mr. T. F. Higgins, who is preparing a book on *Signs of Old Dublin*, reminds me that the streets near St. Patrick's Deanery were full of the shops of linen-drapers and woollen-drapers; and that the printer, Harding, named his son John Draper (Hughes, E. C., *St. John's, Dublin*, p. 90). See also p. 373.

P. 3, l. 4. *Brethren, Friends, &c.* Cf. *The Drapier Demolished*, p. 1 (see Appendix II, p. 356). 'In his first letter . . . He begins with the wheedling Preamble of *Brethren, Friends, Country-men and Fellow-Subjects*. A Loving beginning indeed! But I wonder which of us two Loves you best, He that is getting you no Money at all, or I who am this Present providing more Money for you than you shall know what to do with.'

l. 14. *lowest Rate*. Cf. *The Dublin Journal*, Monday, May 11, 1724. 'Whereas it is generally reported that Mr WOODS is now earnestly pressing to have his base Coyn pass among us to the Ruin of our Country; This is to give Notice, That the Author of the Pamphlet called a Letter to the Shopkeepers &c upon that Subject, hath directed the Printer to Sell the said Pamphlets to any Gentleman at the Rate of three Dozen for two English Shillings, having himself undertaken to pay the Printer the Charge of Publishing Them.'

'And whereas great Numbers of Tradesmen now in this City, and much more in the Country, are so far from having Read the said Letter, that they have not as much as heard of it; This is to

Intreat them for their own Sake as well as that of the Kingdom that they will please to Purchase the said Letter, which is of so small a Price, and Read it themselves, and Communicate it to their Neighbours, and that Gentlemen in this City will send it to their Friends and Tenants in the Country.' Cf. also p. 31, l. 23 and p. 141, l. 3.

l. 15. *It is a great Fault.* Cf. *The Drapier Demolished*, p. 2: 'Artful enough indeed! This he did to draw you in like so many Gudgeons, to Swallow his false Arguments, and you see he has accomplished his End at last; For had ye not read his Letters, ye might have had the Benefit of my Half-pence these five or six Months past.' Cf. also the appeal to all Tradesmen, &c., to read this letter of the Drapier, 'writ for your Goods', in *Ireland's Warning, Being an Excellent New Song, upon Wood's Base Half-pence* (Aldine, iii. 112).

l. 23. *About three Years ago.* The date of *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture, &c.* was actually May, 1720, i.e. nearly four years before this. See *Corr.* iii. 64-6.

l. 27. *was prosecuted two Years.* The prosecution of Waters was continued so long that Swift eventually wrote to Sir Thomas Hanmer to use his influence with the Duke of Grafton to get the matter dropped. See *Corr.* iii. 69-71, 116. Cf. also *Corr. of Sir T. Hanmer* (1838), p. 190.

P. 4, l. 15. *for some time very scarce.* The whole question of the scarcity of Copper Coin is admirably discussed by Thomas Prior in his *Observations on Coin in General* (Dublin 1729), p. 42: "Tis certain that at present we are far from having a sufficient Quantity of Halfpence, which we are very sensible of in all our Domestick Dealings, wherein we labour under great Difficulties for small Change in Copper Money. This Scarcity is a general Complaint all over the Kingdom, and throws poor People into Distress, disabling them in a great Measure from carrying on their small Dealings with one another; and their Grievance is much heightened by an absolute Want of Farthings, of which we have hardly any left in the Kingdom. . . .

'About Twenty Years ago, we had too great a Stock of Half-pence and Farthings current among us, and suffered our Traders to carry them off in great Quantities to *New-England, Pensilvania*, and other Parts of the *West-Indies*, where they passed at

a higher Value; this we did not think fit to oppose at the Beginning, when we were too much loaded with them at Home, but then we should have put a Stop to this pernicious Traffick in some reasonable Time, which might have prevented all the Inconveniences we now labour under on that Account; but no Care being then taken to prevent this Export, it did not cease till there was no more Halfpence to be got to send off; And thus we have been reduced to a total Loss of our Farthings, and to a great Scarcity of Halfpence, which has created a Temptation to coin a vile Sort of Halfpence, of little or no intrinsick Value, which could not have been obtruded upon us, or received by us, but for the great Want we lie under of small Change.'

Swift himself suggested in 1724 that £10,000 worth of copper coinage was needed; and Archbishop Boulter also refers to the sum of £10,000 to £20,000 in copper as being necessary; 'or at least, it would be a kindness to the nation if they had it'. See *Letters*, i. 9. But both Archbishop King and Lord Midleton denied that there was any need for additional copper. See *St. Patrick's*, p. xciii and *Walpole*, ii. 393. And in the heat of the controversy it was natural of course that this should be insisted on, and that the testimony of the witnesses called before the Council in England in July, 1724, should be declared entirely false. See *Letter III*, p. 49.

Perhaps the most convincing argument was advanced by Aminadab Firebrass, who pointed out that there could not be any scarcity of copper money, as Harding had received a vast amount in one week from the sale of the *Drapier's Letters*. See Appendix II, p. 363.

1. 17. *under the Name of RAPS*. Monck Mason suggests that 'the word rap is the first syllable of the word Rapparee, which, being an ignominious term, applied to outlaws and rebels, was, in a figurative sense, applied to base coin:' (*St. Patrick's*, p. xciii). But it is possible that it may rather be connected with the word *rappen*, used for a Swiss-German coin of mixed metal (about a centime in value), or *rapper*, used for a Dutch coin of mixed metal of the value of a Farthing (see Stanford, *Dictionary of Anglicized Words and Phrases*, 1892); although, according to the *N.E.D.*, there is no evidence of this. It is interesting to note,

however, that Swift refers to Holland as one of the sources of counterfeit money circulating in Ireland. See *Letter III*, p. 62.

1. 20. *Mr. WOODS.* The best account of William Wood and his Irish coinage is given by Philip Nelson, M.D., in his *Coinage of Ireland in Copper, Tin, and Pewter, 1460-1826* (Liverpool 1905). But apart from this project, which brought Wood so much notoriety, Mr. Nelson gives only the following facts: 'William Wood was born July 31, 1671, and resided at the Deanery, Wolverhampton, during the period 1692-1713. Previous to his venture in the sphere of coinage he must have been a person of good financial status, as we are told that he was a proprietor of iron and copper mines in the west of England, and leased mining rights in thirty-nine counties in England and Wales. . . . He died in London, August 2, 1730, and thus only enjoyed his Irish pension for five years.' His wife was Mary Molyneaux of Witten Hall, Staffordshire. pp. 33, 38.

I can add the following account of some of his other schemes, which show him to have been a 'projector' of great enterprise but doubtful solidity.

In 1695 he published *An Expedient to avoid the great Charge of New Coyning the Clipped Money for the Present . . . and for making it as Useful as if it were New Coyned: As also to Prevent Clipping for the future: Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Honourable House of Commons, by W. W(ood)*. [Goldsmiths—Broadside, 58 (3).] He proposes that all clipped money should be called in and placed in special brass boxes, with a number and the value stamped on them, to pass in all payments. I do not know that this was ever carried out, or that he was able to make money out of these brass boxes. But he seems later on to have become one of the largest iron manufacturers in the country, if we may judge from a broadside [B.M. 8223, e. 9 (95)], dated 1720, concerning the importance of iron manufactures and the need for their development in order to supply the 20,000 tons still imported yearly. An account then follows of *The Present State of Mr. Wood's Partnership*, which is made to appear very flourishing, being in possession of 'an estate rich in iron mines and pit-coal, an iron-works near the Severn, furnaces for making brass', &c., &c. In 1722-5 he was sufficiently

occupied with his coinage schemes, which although unsuccessful at least brought him satisfactory compensation. In 1726 he seems to have been engaged in an even more dubious undertaking, arising out of the discovery of a new method of making Bar Iron with pit-coal which was due to Thomas Tomkyns of Cheadle in Staffordshire. Wood is reported to have got a patent for this, and also a contract with the Mines Royal Company to deliver them 10,000 tons of Bar Iron at £12 per ton, and got £20,000 of their money, but was never able to fulfil his contract. This seems to be substantiated in a series of six broadsides [B.M. 816, m. 13 (10-15)] dealing with Wood's unsuccessful attempts to make Bar Iron at Whitehaven. In fact his partnership seems to have been a bogus company, possessing works and furnaces, but producing nothing, and attempting to raise (according to one report) a sum of one million pounds. It is evident that he had many enemies, and not a very sound reputation. At the time of his death in 1730 it was reported that he was ruined, and a curious document [B.M. 816, m. 23 (132)] was printed, purporting to give a will in which he leaves bequests of over £120,000, followed by an inventory of his possessions, which consist only of 'ready money—3/6; clothes etc.—£10; and the rest Rights in certain Patents etc. the value whereof is unknown.'

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the genuine Wood coins have been highly praised. Mr. Nelson goes so far as to say: 'I think there can be little doubt that all the coins emanating from the mint of William Wood show alike considerable beauty in design and execution, and in both respects were much superior to any preceding coinage either of Ireland or the sister kingdom.' See *Coinage of William Wood, 1722-33* (Brighton 1903), p. 42.

l. 21. *a Patent*. An official copy of the Patent, dated July 12, 1722, is in the P.R.O. (*S.P.* 63, vol. 380). The Grant was, as Walpole afterwards said, very carefully drawn up. It is hardly necessary to give the whole document; the main points are as follows: It gave to William Wood the right 'to coin Halfpence and Farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland for a Term of 14 years, not exceeding 100 tons of copper in the first year, and 20 tons yearly for the last 13 years, at the rate of 30*d.* to the pound weight of pure copper'. He and his agents are to arrange

for the transport of the coin to Ireland, 'and shall and may Utter and Disperse the same to his and their Best Advantage and Profit to Pass and be received as Current Money by such as shall be Willing to Receive the same'. Annual assays are to be made by a Comptroller, who shall receive from Wood a salary of £200 per annum. 'The said Farthings and half-Pence of Copper shall and may be made and Coyned with Engines or Instruments having on the one Side the Effigies or Portraiture with the Name or Title of his Majestie his Heirs or Successors and on the other Side the Figure of an Harp with the Word HIBERNIA and the Year of our Lord and any other Marks or Additions as may be Proper'. They 'shall pass and be generally used Between Man and Man or between any Persons that shall and Will Voluntarily & Willingly and not otherwise Pay and Receive the Same'. Wood is also to pay 'the Yearly Rent or Sum of One Hundred Pounds over and above the Comptrollers Salary before mentioned'. Full power is also granted to Wood or his Deputies 'from time to time and at all times during the said Term hereby Granted (taking a Constable or other Officer to his or their assistance) and in the day time' to 'enter into any Ship Vessel house or other Place in Ireland where he or they may Reasonably Suspect that any Counterfeit Farthings or half-Pence are or shall be made or Lodged or are or shall be Brought or Imported from any other of his Majesties Dominions or from any Foreign Parts and by all Lawfull Ways to search for the Same. . . . And his Majestie doth hereby . . . Require and Command the Lieutenant Deputy or other Chief Governour or Governours of the Kingdom of Ireland and all other Officers and Ministers Whatsoever etc. to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood. . . .'

11. 22-3. *FOURSCORE AND TEN THOUSAND POUNDS*. This was the amount spoken of at first in Ireland. It is mentioned in letters from Lord Middleton, dated Sept. 16 and 21, 1723. See *S.P.* 63, vol. 382. The actual amount of coinage authorized by the Patent—360 tons at the rate of thirty pence to the pound weight of copper—was of course £100,800, as given in the Privy Council's Report; but it is usually referred to in the later letters as £104,000 or £108,000, this latter figure being also repeated by Philip Nelson in his *Coinage of Ireland*.

P. 5, l. 27. *and had GREAT FRIENDS.* It was commonly reported that the King's mistress, the Duchess of Kendal, received from Lord Sunderland a patent for the Irish coinage, which she sold to Wood for £10,000. It is naturally difficult to find any direct evidence of this, but Coxe points out that 'the fact was insidiously communicated by Carteret to Alan Brodrick, second son of Lord Midleton, during his visit to Hanover, transmitted by him to his friends in Dublin, and soon made public by various allusions of Swift'. Cf. letter from Lord Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, dated Aug. 15, 1725: 'When Wood's patent was heard of first, I cast about to find who was the person for whose benefit that worthy project was sett on foot, and truly the first way my thoughts turned, was to consider, whether this might not spring out of a former patent, granted to alderman Knox, the interest of which came to the late earl of Arran; . . . Under this mistake, I continued, till a friend of yours, who is now on the continent, gave me an account from the court where he was at that time, that a certain person, to whom I recommended him, and who allowed him familiar accesse, seemed to espouse the patent in a warmer manner then I did believe he would have done, as a matter which was undoubtedly the king's prerogative, &c. . . . This is most certain, that Mr W[alpole] disclaimed, and doth disclaim having any hand in it, or other notice of it while it was in agitation, then such as he necessarily must have by his office, and I have it from a good hand, that he declares he all along was in this judgement, and declared himself against the thing as very unreasonable in itself.' *Walpole*, ii. 426-7.

Monck Mason refuses to accept this exoneration of Walpole, but he does not seem to notice that Coxe is simply putting forward the view held by Lord Midleton, who seems to have had reliable information. See *St. Patrick's*, note w, pp. 327-32.

Proposals were first made for a patent in 1718, when Lord Sunderland was in office, and when the Duke of Bolton was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See *Letter III*, p. 37, l. 28 and *note*.

P. 6, l. 15. *several Smart Votes.* The following are the Addresses of the Irish Houses of Parliament, which had been presented to his Majesty on the subject of Wood's coinage:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,

The Humble ADDRESS of the *Knights, Citizens and Burgesses,*
in Parliament Assembled.

Most Gracious SOVEREIGN!

IT is with the Utmost Concern, That We, Your Majesty's Most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the COMMONS of *IRELAND* in Parliament Assembled, Find our Selves Indispensibly Oblig'd, Humbly to Represent to Your Majesty our Unanimous Opinion, That the Importing and Uttering of *Copper Farthings* and *Half-Pence*, by Virtue of the Patent lately Granted to *William Wood*, Esq; under the Great Seal of *Great-Britain*, will be highly Prejudicial to Your Majesty's Revenue, Destructive of the Trade and Commerce of this Nation, and of the most Dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject.

WE are fully Convinced from the Tender Regard Your Majesty has always Express'd for Our Welfare and Prosperity, That this Patent could not have been Obtain'd, had not *William Wood* and his Accomplices greatly Misrepresented the State of this Nation to Your Majesty, it having appeared to Us by Examinations taken in the most Solemn Manner, That, tho' the Terms thereof had been strictly Comply'd with, there would have been a Loss to this Nation of at least 150 *per Cent.* by Means of the said Coinage, and a much Greater in the Manner the said *Half-Pence* have been Coined.

WE likewise beg Leave to inform Your Majesty, That the said *William Wood* has been Guilty of a most Notorious Fraud and Deceit in Coining the said *Half-Pence*, having under Colour of the Powers Granted unto him, Imported and Endeavour'd to Utter great Quantities of Different Impressions, and of much Less Weight than was requir'd by the said Patent.

YOUR Faithful COMMONS having found by Experience, That the Granting the Power or Privilege of Coining *Money*, or *Tokens* to Pass for *Money*, to Private Persons has been highly Detrimental to Your Loyal Subjects, and being Apprehensive That the Vesting such Power in any Body Politick or Corporate, or any Private Person or Persons whatsoever, will be always of Dangerous Consequence to this Kingdom, are Encouraged by

the Repeated Assurances Your Majesty hath given Us of Your Royal Favour and Protection, Humbly to Entreat Your Majesty, That whenever You shall hereafter think it Necessary to Coin any *Farthings* or *Half-Pence*, the same may be made as near the Intrinsick Value as possible, and that whatever Profit shall accrue thereby, may be apply'd to the Publick Service.

AND We do further Humbly beseech Your Majesty, That You will be Graciously Pleased to give such Directions, as You in Your Great Wisdom shall think Proper, to Prevent the Fatal Effects of Uttering any *Farthings* or *Half-Pence* Pursuant to the said Patent.

AS this Enquiry has proceeded Entirely from Our Love to Our Country, So We cannot omit this Opportunity of Repeating our Unanimous Resolution, to Stand by and Support Your Majesty to the Utmost of our Power, against all Your Enemies both at Home and Abroad; and of Assuring Your Majesty, That We will upon every Occasion give Your Majesty and the World, all possible Demonstration of Our Zeal and Inviolable Duty and Affection to Your Majesty's most Sacred Person and Government, and to the Succession, as Establish'd in Your Royal House.

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.

The Humble ADDRESS of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal
in *PARLIAMENT* Assembled.

May it please Your Most Sacred Majesty,
WE the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament Assembled, are under the Utmost Concern to find That Our DUTY to Your MAJESTY and Our COUNTRY indispensably Calls upon Us to Acquaint Your MAJESTY with the ill Consequences which will inevitably follow from a PATENT for Coining Half Pence and Farthings to be Uttered in this Kingdom obtained under the Great Seal of *GREAT BRITAIN* by one *William Wood* in a Clandestine and Unprecedented manner, and by a Grose Misrepresentation of the State of this Kingdom.

We are most Humbly of Opinion, That the Diminution of Your MAJESTIES Revenue, the Ruin of our Trade and the

Impoverishing of Your People, must unavoidably attend this Undertaking, and We beg leave to Observe to Your MAJESTY, That from the most exact Enquiries and Computations We have been able to make, it Appears to Us, That the Gain to *William Wood* will be excessive, and the Loss to this Kingdom by Circulating this Base Coine greater than this poor Country is able to bear.

With the greatest Submission and Deference to Your MAJESTY's Wisdom, We beg We may Offer it as Our Humble Opinion, That the Reserving the Coining of Half Pence and Farthings to the Crown, and the not Intrusting it with any Private Person, Body Politick, or Corporate, will always be for Your MAJESTY's Service, and the Good of Your People in this Kingdom.

In Confidence, SIR, of Your Paternal Care of the Welfare of this Country, We beseech Your MAJESTY that You will be Pleased to Extend that Goodness and Compassion to Us which has so Eminently shew'd it self to all Your other Subjects, who have the Happiness to Live under Your Protection and Government, and that You will give such Directions as may Effectually Free Us from the Terrible Apprehensions We Labour Under from this PATENT Granted to *William Wood*.

To which ADDRESS His Majesty was pleased to give the following Most Gracious ANSWER, *Vizt.*

GEORGE R.

HIS MAJESTY is very much Concerned to see, That His Granting the PATENT for Coining Half Pence and Farthings agreeable to the Practice of His Royal Predecessors has given so much Uneasiness to the HOUSE of LORDS, And if there have been any Abuses Committed by the ~~Patentee~~, His MAJESTY will give the Necessary Orders for Enquiring into, and Punishing those Abuses, And will do every thing that is in His Power for the Satisfaction of His People.

1. 16. *WOODS had the assurance to answer.* I have not been able to find a copy of Wood's reply, which Nelson says appeared in the *Flying Post*, Oct. 8, 1723. But Mr. T. F. Higgins kindly sent me the following comment, which appeared

in the *Dublin Courant*, and the *Dublin Mercury*, Nov. 2, 1723: 'London, Oct. 26. William Wood, Esq., Patentee for coining Farthings and Halfpence for Ireland, having published an Answer to the Resolutions of the House of Commons, and particularly to that Part which charges him to be guilty of Fraud, on Account of the said Money not being full weight; in which he declares that the same might be done by a Combination between his Majesty's Comptroller and his Workmen or Agents.

'The said Comptroller has thereupon advertised the same to be notoriously false and scandalous, there never being any such Combination, and that he is ready to the utmost of his Power to give all the Satisfaction he can to the Parliament of Ireland.'

l. 25. *refused to take them*. It is probable that the Customs officials did in some places refuse Wood's coin; and later in May 1724 the Irish Privy Council, in its address against Wood's coin (see note to p. 26, l. 10), supported the recommendation of the House of Commons by specifically petitioning that the King would give orders to the Commissioners of the Revenue not to receive it. But in reply to this they were definitely commanded (August, 1724) 'to withdraw all orders, directions etc. to hinder or obstruct the receiving or uttering this Copper Money'. Whereupon Conolly, at that time one of the Lords Justices, in a letter of Aug. 15, resents the suggestion 'that the Commissioners of the Revenue had ever given such directions or intimations publicly or privately', but has to admit a few days later that the Lords Justices had called a Council, which 'brake up without doing anything in the matter'. See *S.P.* 63, vol. 384. Cf. also a discussion of the legal point involved, which occurs in a short well-written pamphlet, *The Soldier's Plea*, p. 4. It is here pointed out that by 'an Act of Parliament made in Ireland the 14 and 15 Year of Charles II, the custom and excise duties were to be paid and received by the respective officers in current money of England, and in no other, . . . and therefore until such time as Mr Wood can get his Half-pence and Farthings made currant in England, this Statute bars them in this Kingdom, and excludes them from being any part of His Majesty's Revenue.' See Appendix II, p. 357.

l. 30. *WOODS is still working under hand*. See Introd.,

pp. xv-xvii. But it is only fair to say here that at the end of the summer Wood wrote to the Duke of Newcastle (Sept. 29, 1724) proposing 'to forbear coining and uttering the Coinage in Ireland, until fresh rules and provisions and security might be arranged to satisfy the objections to the Patent'. See *S.P.* 63, vol. 384.

P. 7, l. 2. *the common Soldier*. Cf. *The Soldier's Plea*, p. 3: 'Wood and his Abettors have no Prospect of making their Scheme practicable, and executing their Design upon a Poor, but highly loyal Country: But (as the general Report goes) by paying the ARMY in Mr Wood's Coyn, by great Abuse and Impropriety of Speech, then, to be called Money, and then the Soldiers are to Palm their Brass upon the Country, for the Necessaries of Life, or Starve.'

P. 8, l. 2. *Three Horse Load*. Cf. *A Letter to William Woods Esq; From his Only Friend in Ireland*, where this idea is carried further: 'Moneyed men will need warehouses instead of a strong box, and a man or two to carry the Common Expences of the Day.' See Appendix II, p. 356.

l. 12. 'SQUIRE C——Y. Conolly, the Speaker of the House of Commons and one of the Lords Justices appointed during the summer of 1724 to act in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, was entirely devoted to the English interest. His letters to the Duke of Newcastle at that time reveal his anxiety concerning the general opposition to Wood's coin, his vain attempts to overcome it, and his distrust of Lord Middleton. Swift gives a short character of him in a letter to Gay, Aug. 28, 1731: 'There was a fellow in Ireland, called Conolly, who, from a shoe-boy, grew to be several times one of the chief governors, wholly illiterate, and with hardly common sense. A Lord Lieutenant told the first King George that Conolly was the greatest subject he had in both kingdoms; and truly his character was gotten and preserved by Conolly's never appearing in England, which was the only wise thing he ever did, except purchasing sixteen thousand pounds a year.' See *Corr.* iv. 259.

l. 30. *the Brass Money in K. JAMES's Time*. In a Proclamation issued by James II on Feb. 4, 1689, mixed money was authorized as current money for all purposes, with promises to redeem it in gold and silver in due course. Another dated March

28, 1690, authorized a certain quantity of mixed money to be coined in Penny and Halfpenny pieces, and threatened severe penalties to those who refused to accept the coins in all payments. Another dated June 15, 1690, authorized an issue of copper and brass Crown pieces to pass at five shillings. On July 10, 1690, this was replied to by a Proclamation of William III, reducing the value of such pieces at the following rates: 'Large Half Crown of Copper, together with Crown Pieces of like Metal and Weight lately stamp'd, 1d. sterl: small half-crown lately stamped $\frac{3}{4}$ d.: large copper shilling $\frac{1}{2}$ d.: small shilling one farthing: pewter pence pass for halfpence, pewter halfpence for farthings.' And on Feb. 23, 1690-1, an order was issued, referring to the above, and stating further that 'as the greater part of this coin is in the hands of the Irish in rebellion, who secretly bring it into the loyal parts, therefore after Feb. 26, 1690-1 none of the said pieces shall be current or used in any payments whatsoever'. See *Irish Proclamations*, B.M., C. 21 f, nos. 93, 101, 106, 111; and G. 5869, no. 29. Cf. also Archbishop King, *State of the Protestants in Ireland* (1691), pp. 133ff.

P. 9, l. 20. *Run all into Sheep*. Swift constantly refers to this in his later tracts, e.g. *The present Miserable State of Ireland*: 'The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potato-plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America'. See *Works*, vii. 163-4. Cf. also Lecky's description of 'cottiers' in his *Ireland*, i. 214-15.

P. 10, l. 23. *Cruel or Oppressive in the French Government*. From 1689 to 1715 there were no fewer than forty-three variations in the value of the *louis d'or* and the *écu d'argent*. The worst conditions were reached, however, between September 1719 and December 1720, when the rate was altered twenty-eight times for gold and thirty-five for silver. For further details see M. Marion, *Dictionnaire des institutions de la France aux xvii^e et xviii^e siècles*—article 'monnaies', pp. 383-4 (Picard, Paris, 1923). Cf. also Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes* (1754): '[Le roi de France] est un grand magicien; il exerce son empire sur l'esprit

même de ses sujets; il les fait penser comme il veut. S'il n'a qu'un million d'écus dans son trésor et qu'il en ait besoin de deux, il n'a qu'à leur persuader qu'un écu en vaut deux, et ils le croient. S'il a une guerre difficile à soutenir et qu'il n'ait point d'argent, il n'a qu'à leur mettre dans la tête qu'un morceau de papier est de l'argent, et ils en sont aussitôt convaincus.' (Flammarion, 1929, p. 45.)

P. 11, l. 3. *A Famous Law-Book*. Swift and his editors are inclined to accept Coke's view of the *Mirror of Justices*. Actually it appears to be of very doubtful importance—a youthful compilation of Andrew Horne in the reign of Edward I. It is described by Sir Francis Palgrave as 'a very curious specimen of the apocrypha of the law' . . . of no value 'as evidence concerning the early jurisprudence of Anglo-Saxon England'. Horne seems to have been a learned archivist and antiquarian rather than a lawyer. It was first printed in French in 1642, translated into English in 1646 by W. Hughes, and republished in 1768 and 1840. See Maitland's Introduction to an edition published for the *Selden Society* by W. J. Whittaker, London, 1895.

l. 9. *as my Lord Coke says*. These quotations are from *The Second Part of the Institutes Of the Lawes of England* Authore Edw. Coke Milite, I.C. London: Printed by M. Flesher, and R. Young, for E. D. R. M., W. L., and D. P. 1642. The passage Coke quotes from the *Mirror* is *cap* 1.5.3. '*The Mirror treating, Des Articles perveiels Roys ordeins, saith thus, Ordein fuit que nul Roy de cest Realme ne poet changer sa money, ne impairer, ne amender, ne auter money faire, que de ore ou dargent sans lassent de tous ses Counties, that is, without assent of Parliament.*'

The statute quoted on page 577 is 'Statutum de demissione denariorum, an. 20 Ed. I Vet. Mag. Chart. fol. 167: Quicunque in emptionibus & venditionibus obulum seu quadrantem legalis metalli, & debitam habentem formam, recusare praesumpserit, tanquam regiae majestatis contemptor capiatur, & in carcerem detrudatur.'

P. 12, l. 16. *Henry the 4th. Chap. 4*. The passage quoted is actually 4 Henry IV, c. 10. See *Statutes*, ii. 136.

l. 27. *Edward the 3d. Chap. 3*. See *Statutes*, i. 273. The reference to *black money* is in the next paragraph, c. 4: 'That all

Manner of black Money, which hath been commonly current of late in our Realm and Obesiance, be utterly excluded, so that none such shall be current after a Month next after the cry thereof made etc.' The reference to the act concerning galley-half-pence is misleading; it should be 11 Henry IV, c. 5: 'Item, Because that Gally Half-pence do commonly run in the Realm for Payment, in Derogation of the King's Crown, and in great Deceit of the common People: It is ordained and stablished, That the said Gally Half-pence shall never be current in Payment nor in other Manner within the Realm of England, upon Pain of Forfeiture thereof.' *Ibid.*, ii. 163.

P. 13, l. 8. *Davis's Reports*. See *Le Primer Report des Cases & Matters en Ley resolues & adjudges en les Courts del Roy en Ireland. Collect et digest per Sr John Davys Chivaler Attorney Generall del Roy en cest Realme*. Dublin. Printed by John Franckton Printer to the Kings most excellent Majestie Anno 1615, p. 18: Trin. 2. Jacobi. *Le Case de Mixt Monyes*. Swift gives a sufficient account of the case in this paragraph, dealing with it very carefully to prevent it being quoted as a precedent against him.

P. 14, l. 13. *his Patent*. See note to p. 4, l. 21.

P. 15, l. 10. *the accursed Thing*. See Joshua vi. 18.

l. 16. *a Bull of Brass*. Sir H. Craik thinks it curious to find Swift so referring to Phalaris, of whom he had heard so much in the days of the *Battle of the Books*. It is perhaps not less to the point to remark that the frontispiece to Boyle's famous edition of the *Letters of Phalaris* (1695) is an engraving of the scene here described, when the projector is being put into his own brazen bull to make the experiment first.

l. 25. *true Value of these Half-Pence*. No one of course ever seriously suggested that the coins Wood actually made and sent over in 1723-4 were ever more than about 30 per cent. less value than the English copper coins from the Mint; see Maple's essay given in the note to p. 41, l. 18. But Swift's wild exaggerations, varying from one-ninth to one-twelfth of the nominal value, were partly due to the fear that the coinage would be further debased and easily counterfeited.

LETTER II

P. 17, l. 4. *Mr. Harding the Printer*. Swift seems to have been first associated with Harding in 1721, for, besides the reprint of his *Epilogue In the behalf of the Distressed Weavers*, he gave him *A Letter to the K[ing] at Arms From a Reputed Esquire One of the Subscribers to the Bank*. But in September of that year, having failed to appear at the Bar of the House of Lords to answer a complaint against him for publishing the *Ld. Licut.'s* speech without authority, Harding was ordered into custody. See *Journals of the House of Lords of Ireland*, ii. 686, 689, 690. He seems to have been imprisoned until Feb. 1723/4, when he issued the following appeal in his *Dublin Impartial News Letter* of Feb. 18:

Harding's Resurrection from Hell upon Earth.

Forth from my Dark and Dismal Room

Behold to Life again I come;

By long Confinement poor John Harding

Has hardly left a single Farthing;

He's brought to such a wretched Pass

He'd almost take the English Brass;

Begs that his Customers will use

His *Pamphlets*, *Elegies* and *News*. &c.

Here was the very man for the risky job of printing the *Drapier's Letters*, and Swift doubtless found it very useful also to have a printer who owned a newspaper, in which the campaign against Wood could be carried on by means of advertisements, declarations, and comment. Harding must have prospered during the summer of 1724, but he was put into prison again in November for printing the *Drapier's Fourth Letter*, and he died on April 19, 1725. His wife, Sarah Harding, who seems also to have been imprisoned in December (see p. 99, l. 16), and again almost a year later (see p. lxvi, n. 2) continued to print Swift's shorter pamphlets on Irish affairs until 1730, including the *Intelligencer*, in 1728. Cf. also the following lines kindly sent me by Mr. Higgins, from *The Snake In a Bosom; A Fable from Phaedrus*, 1770 (Haliday Pamphlets, no. 356):

This Dean, we know, his Favours granted

There always, where they most were wanted.

So, to his Works, you see no Names
Of Pepyat, Dobson, Hyde, or Rhames:
But faithful Poverty rewarding,
To Waters they were sent and Harding.
When these were dead, the Dean observed
A young Practitioner half starved,
In Cock-loft foul, where half a Neck
Of Carrion Beef, o'er half a Peck
Of Coals, stewed with a score Potatoes,
In Bulk and Figure, like his great Toes,
Served him for Viands seven Days.

P. 19, l. 3. *your News-Letter of the 1st. Instant.* I have not been able to find a copy of Harding's *Weekly News-Letter* for August 1, but the report referred to from London, July 25, was printed by him in full in *The Post-Boy* for Friday, July 31, and in the *Dublin Gazette*, July 28/Aug. 1, and in part also in the following papers: *Needham's Post-Man*, July 31; *The Flying Post*, July 31; *The Dublin Intelligence*, Aug. 1; and *The Dublin Courant*, Aug. 1. The following text is taken from the *Post-Boy*:

LONDON, *July 25.*

Yesterday the Committee of Council met at the Cockpit, and had under their Consideration the Objections made against the Patent granted by his Majesty to Mr. Wood for Coining Half pence & Farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland, when several Merchants and others of an(d) Trading to Ireland, were Examined, who all Agreed, that there was the utmost Necessity for Copper Money before the granting of Mr. Wood's Patent; so that some Gentlemen who employ hundreds of the Poor there, were forc'd to tally with their Workmen, and give them Bits of Cards with their Seal on one Side, and their Names on the other, After this, pursuant to an Order of the Committee of Council held at the Cockpit on the 10th April last, Sir Isaac Newton's Report of an ASSAY taken at the Tower by a Jury of Pix, was Read, by which it appear'd that Mr. Wood had in all Respects perform'd his Contract. Nevertheless, the Patentee, for preventing any Future Objections, or Apprehensions, voluntary proposes:

First, that whereas he has already Coined 17000l Worth, and has Copper prepar'd to make it up 40000 l. he will be content to Coin no more, unless the Exigencies of Trade require it, tho' his Patent empowers him to Coin a far greater Quantity. Or,

Secondly, To deliver it at Bristol at 2s. 1d. per Pound Aver-dupoiz; Or,

Thirdly, To deliver the Copper in Fillets, rolled and prepared for Cutting, at 1s. 8d. per Pound; Or,

Lastly, In Consideration of the direful Apprehensions which prevail in Ireland, that Mr. Wood will, by such Coinage, drain them of their Gold and Silver, he proposes to take their Manufactures in Exchange; and that no Person be obliged to receive more than Five Pence Halfpenny at one Payment.

We hear, that by Order of the Council, the whole Affair will be Reported to his Majesty, so that we may expect to know more of it hereafter.

N.B. No Evidence appear'd from Ireland or elsewhere, to prove the Mischiefs complain'd of, or any Abuses whatsoever committed in the Execution of the said Grant,

(The Printer of this Paper leaves the Intention of the above Paragraph to the serious Consideration of every True Well-Wisher to Ireland.).

l. 27. *Seven Times below the Real Value.* See note to p. 15, l. 25.

l. 28. *an Hundred and Four thousand Pounds.* See note to p. 4, l. 22.

P. 20, l. 9. *the Liberty of Coyning for our selves.* Lecky points out that a mint had been established in Ireland by Edward I, and it existed at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. During the seventeenth century petitions were addressed to the King by the Irish Houses of Parliament that a Mint should be established and that the coinage should be of the same value as in England, but without success. *Ireland*, i. 449 f. See also *Commons' Journals*, i. 82, 90; *Lords' Journals*, i. 34 f. Later, between 1727 and 1731, James Maculla issued several pamphlets on the subject: *Proposals for a Public Coinage, &c.*, 1727 (Goldsmiths); *Coinage or Mint Proposed*, 1728 (T.C.D.); *King George And His Ancestors Parliamentary Grants To The People of Ireland, Fairly Explained For the*

manufacturing Copper Change therein, &c., 1731 (Goldsmiths). In this last he appealed directly to Swift for support:

'Therefore, it is now proposed to the People of *Ireland*, also, to the several Corporations of *Dublin*, and to that elegant Writer the DRAPIER, and others, the aforesaid, and following *Parliamentary Grants*, with all the Arguments thereon; . . .

'And in this great Calamity, if I might presume the Liberty in behalf of that Country, whereof I am a Native, and a Lover, to address myself to that Great and learned *Drapier*, who was, and is, a true Champion for his Country; I cannot forbear saying, I am agreeably surprized at the unparalleled Zeal, that moved him to single out himself as a Lover of his Country, to put a Check to the impending Ruin, which lately was contrived against, and intended to be imposed on it, by an artful Worker in Metals, which had it succeeded, would have destroyed Thousands of the poor Natives of this Kingdom; . . .

'And knowing that great Author to be most exceedingly beloved in his Country, for his excellent and happy way of Writing to the People thereof, in such a familiar Stile, so as no Author, in a *Copper Scheme*, can be regarded, that is not in his Measures. I therefore humbly hope, and would make it my earnest Request, he would, at leisure Hours, peruse this following Scheme, and what appears to him to be lawful and good therein for the Nation's Interest, to recommend it in such a Light, as this Island may always be delighted with his good and glorious Actions: Or if he would please to do me the Honour, according as he should approve thereof, to give his Approbation of it, it would set this great Work on foot in a Moment, even at the first putting of his Pen to Paper on that Head.' pp. 4, 6, 7.

l. 11. *Ten thousand Pounds might have been Coyned.* See note to p. 4, l. 15.

l. 16. *hath taken Care to Buy up . . . our old Half-pence.* There appears to be no real evidence for this charge against Wood.

l. 32. *Discouragement of Agriculture.* Sir Walter Scott notes: 'Perhaps the prohibition from ploughing'. Swift had already referred to this discouragement in *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture*: . . . 'the landlords are every-

where by penal clauses absolutely prohibiting their tenants from ploughing; . . . the politic gentlemen of Ireland have depopulated vast tracts of the best land, for the feeding of sheep.' *Works*, vii. 17.

P. 21, l. 9. *an Assay taken at the Tower*. The following is the full report, which was reprinted at the end of David Bindon's pamphlet, *Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage*, pp. 27-8: see Appendix II, p. 364.

'A Coppy of the *Report* made by Sir *Isaac Newton*, *Edw Southwel*, and *John Scroope*, Esqs; of the *Assay* made of Mr. *Wood's Copper Money*.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury.

May it please your Lordships,

ACCORDING to your Lordship's Order, the *Pix* of the *Copper Money* coined at *Bristol* by Mr. *Wood* for *Ireland*, has been opened, and tryed before us, at his Majesty's Mint in the Tower: And, by the *Comptrolers Account*, to which Mr. *Wood* agreed, there has been coined from *Lady-day*, 1723. to *March*, 28th. 1724. in *Halfpence*, 55 Tuns, 5 Hundred, 3 Quarters, and 12 Ounces, and in *Farthings* 3 Tuns, 17 Hundred, 2 Quarters, 10 Pounds, 8 Ounces, Averdupois; the whole *Coinage* amounting to 59 Tuns, 3 Hundred, 1 Quarter, 11 Pounds, and 4 Ounces. And by Specimens of this *Coinage*, which have from time to time been taken from several *Parcels* coined, and sealed up in *Papers*, and put into the *Pix*; we found, that 60 *Halfpence* weighed 14 Ounces Troy, and 18 Penny weight, which is about a quarter of an Ounce, above 1 Pound weight Averdupois, and that 30 *Farthings* weighed 3 Ounces, and 3 quarters of an Ounce Troy, and 46 Grains, which is also above the weight required by his Patent. We found also, that both *Halfpence* and *Farthings*, when heated red hot, spread thin under the Hammer without Cracking, as your Lordships may see by the pieces now laid before your Lordships. But altho the *Copper* was very good, and the *Money* one piece with another was full weight, yet the single pieces

were not so equally coined, in the weight, as they shou'd have been.

We found also, that 32 old Halfpence coined for *Ireland*, in the Reigns of King *Charles* 2d. King *James* 2. and King *William* 3. and Queen *Mary*, and produced by Mr. *Wood*, weighed 6 Ounces and 8 Penny weight Troy, that is 103 Grains and an half a piece one with another. They were much worn, and if about 6 or 7 Grains be allowed to each of them, one with another, for loss of their weight by wearing, the Copper Money coined for *England*, in the Reign of King *William*, being already as much lightened by wearing, they might at first weigh about half a Pound Averdupois, whereas 30 of those coined by Mr. *Wood*, are to be of that weight, They were also made of bad Copper. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *Charles* 2d. wasted much in the Fire, and then spread thin under the Hammer, but not so well without cracking as those of Mr. *Wood*. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *James* 2d. wasted more in the Fire, and were not malleable when red hot. Two of those coined in the Reign of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, wasted still more in the Fire, and turn'd to an unmalleable Substance, like a Cinder; as your Lordships may see by the Pieces now laid before you.

By the *Assays* we reckon the Copper of Mr. *Wood*'s Halfpence and Farthings to be of the same goodness, and value, with the Copper, of which the Copper Money is coined in the King's Mint for *England*, worth in the Market, about 12 or 13 d. per Pound weight Averdupois. And the Copper of which the Halfpence were coined for *Ireland*, in the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James*, and King *William*, to be much inferior in value, the mixture being unknown, and not bearing the Fire, for converting it to any other use, until it be refined.

The *Halfpence* and *Farthings* in the *Pix*, coined by Mr. *Wood*, had on one side, the Head of the King, with this Inscription *GEORGIUS DEI GRATIA REX*, and on the other Side, a Woman Sitting, with a Harp by her left Side, and above her, this Inscription, *HIBERNIA*, with the Date. The *Halfpence* coined in the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James*, and King *William*, had, on one Side, the Head of King *Charles*, King *James*, or King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and on the Reverse, a Harp crowned.

All which Facts we most humbly Represent to your Lordships. *April, 27th. 1724.*

l. 20. *they are approved.* Ibid., pp. 19–20.

‘And now I shall Examine the Assay made of Mr. *Wood’s* Coinage, in the Tower of *London*; and to do this the better, I shall beg leave to annex a Coppy of the Report thereof, to these Papers.

By this Report, it is Evident, that there was but *one Species* of Mr. *Wood’s* Halfpence Assay’d, viz. those which were coin’d between the 25th of *March, 1723.* and *March 28th, 1724.* bearing on the Reverse, *HIBERNIA* sitting with a *Harp* by her left Side, and the Date of the Year. These might have the Qualities certified, and the *Fraud* charg’d on the Patentee, still subsist. For the Assays made in *Ireland*, and laid before the *Houses of Parliament*, in the Month of *September, 1723.* were on different Species imported into *Ireland*, in order to be utter’d, and most of them were coin’d in the Year 1722, as appears by their Dates, and several of the Impressions on the Reverse, were different from the Species that was try’d in the Tower of *London.*

The Persons concern’d in the Assay made in *Ireland*, were examined by a Committee of the *Whole House of Commons* in a most solemn Manner; a Method not observed, on the other side the Water.

And, to the End there should be no Ground given, for an Imputation that light Pieces were pick’d up for the Tryal in *Ireland*, but that the same should be made with all the Candour imaginable; I am well assured, that the Assay made in *Ireland*, was proved by several Tryals on large Parcels of Mr. *Wood’s* Half-pence, then lying in the Stores of His Majesty’s Custom-House in *Dublin*, and which were imported from *Bristol*: So that this Assay made by Order of the *House of Commons* of *Ireland*, can’t, with any Shew of Reason, be call’d in Question, but certainly carries better Evidence of Truth with it, than any other Assay whatsoever.

By this Assay it appear’d, that *Half-pence* of four different Impressions, and of much less weight, than was requir’d by Patent were imported into *Ireland* before *September 1723*, of which, Specimens are in the Custody of the Clerk of the *House of*

Commons. But there was only one Sort produced before the Gentlemen employ'd to make the Assay in the Tower of *London*; which could not have happen'd, if the Comptroller had perform'd his Duty; for then he would have taken *Tryal Pieces* out of each different Parcel that was coin'd during the whole Time, and then the *different Impressions and Dates* would have appear'd, to the Gentlemen who were appointed to make the Assay in the Tower of *London*.

But this having, in all Appearance, been contrived, by Mr. *Wood* and his Accomplices, in order to deceive the Lords of the Council, as in Effect it has done, it may be allow'd that other Contrivances that could serve to the same End, were put in Practice: And then, it is natural to believe, the *heaviest Pieces* were chosen out of Mr. *Wood's Coinage*, for this Tryal.'

P. 22, l. 6. *he hath already Coynd Seventeen thousand Pounds.*
Ibid., pp. 20-1.

'But Mr. *Wood* has imposed on the Lords of the Council in another most Material Point, and in this too the Comptroler is very deeply concern'd with Mr. *Wood*. This will appear by comparing the Report of the Committee of Council, with the Report of the Assay. In the former it is said: 'That the Comptrolers Accounts of the Quantities of *Half-pence and Farthings* coin'd, agreed with Mr. *Wood's* Account, amounting to 59 Tuns, 3 Hundred, 1 Quarter, 11 Pound and 4 Ounces'; Whereas by the Report made of the Assay it appears, that, 'from Lady-day 1723, to the 28th of *March* 1724, there was that Quantity coin'd.'

From hence it is plain, that no Account has been return'd of the Coinage in the Year 1722, and the Lords of the Council were made to believe, that the Quantities of *Copper* coin'd amounted in the whole only to the aforesaid Weight, and in Tale to 17,000 *l.* whereas by the Report of the Assay it appears, that Quantity and Sum was coin'd between the 25th of *March* 1723, and the 28th of *March* 1724.

And seeing that the Patent was enroll'd in the Rolls of the High-Court of *Chancery* in *England*, on the 12th Day of *July* 1722, the Patentee had full eight Months Time to coin in, before the 25th of *March* 1723: In which Time, at the Rate of 100

Tuns for the first Year, as prescrib'd by the Patent, he must have coin'd 66 Tun at least, which at 2s. 6d. per Pound amounts to 18,480 *l.* and this was intirely withheld from the Knowledge of the Lords of the Council, so that Mr. *Wood* had coin'd 35,480 *l.* in Tale, when he and the Comptroller pretended there was only 17,000 *l.* coin'd.

Now, this has been an Imposition of a most high Nature, and it is enough to demonstrate, that there is little Expectation, of ever being able to set Limits to a Beneficial Coinage, entrusted in private Hands, by the Means of any Comptroller: and therefore all Proposals from Mr. *Wood* of limiting his Coinage to 40,000 *l.* or to any other Sum, are Amusements that Wise Men will never be deceiv'd by.'

l. 23. *I have already shewn.* See above, pp. 13-14.

P. 23, l. 4. *we were never Once consulted.* See *Intro.*, p. xii.

l. 19. *so great a Difference.* The actual value and the different quality of Wood's coins are clearly shown in the assay made by Mr. Maple, at the request of the Irish House of Commons. See *note* to p. 41, l. 18.

P. 24, l. 9. *insignificant, Mechanick.* This and the preceding paragraphs are an elaboration—using some of the same phrases—of a comment, which appeared in *Harding's Impartial News Letter*, April 21, 1724. See *Intro.*, p. xxv.

P. 25, l. 7. *I will Shoot Mr. Woods.* This passage was quoted as an example of Swift's violent methods of rousing opposition to Wood in a letter from Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake, dated Aug. 21, 1724, describing the growing excitement in the country. See *Wake MSS.*, vol. CCXLVII.

P. 26, l. 9. *First; the House of Commons.* For a reprint of this Address see *note* to p. 6, l. 15.

l. 11. *Secondly, the Privy Council.* A copy of this address is preserved in the P.R.O. (*S.P.* 63, vol. 383, no. 97).

To the Kings most Excellent Majesty

The Humble Address of the Lords Justices
And Privy Council of Ireland.

May it please your Majesty.

We your Majesties most Dutifull and Loyal Subjects, the

Lords Justices and Privy Council, most humbly Beg leave at this time to give an Instance of that Duty, which as upon all other Occasions, so more especially upon such as are of the greatest moment and importance, We hold our selves alwaies bound to pay to your Majesty.

Your Majesties Great Council, The High Court of Parliament being now prorogued, We Conceive our selves bound by the trust which your Majesty has been pleased to repose in us, and the Oaths we have taken, with all humility to lay before your Majesty, the present State of this Your Kingdom, with reference to a great Evil that appears to threaten it, To which if a speedy remedy be not applyed, the unavoidable Consequence, as we apprehend will be the Ruin of Multitudes of your Majesties Subjects together with the great Diminution of your Royal Revenue.

The repeated Intelligence from Great Britain that William Wood still persists in his endeavours to Introduce his Copper Halfpence and farthings amongst us, has alarmed your faithfull subjects to such a degree as already to give a great Check to our inland Trade, and a certain Account is lately brought to us, that one of the said Wood's Factors has presumed to make a proposal to an Officer of your Majesties Revenue in this Kingdom to take off great Quantities of his said Halfpence.

If some effectual Course be not speedily taken to dispell the great fears which your Majesties People lye under, our Foreign Commerce also must in our humble Opinion soon be utterly destroyed.

It is found by Experience that We have already a sufficient Quantity of halfpence to serve by way of Change in the Retailing Trade; which we take to be the only use of them, And therefore since this your Majesties Kingdom is in no want of base Coin and the Importing and uttering more of it would manifestly be attended with most pernicious Consequences; and by the proposal that has been made to one of the Officers of Your Majesties Revenue, We have reason to believe that Wm Wood or his Factors will leave nothing in their Power unattempted whereby they may bring their Purpose to effect altho with the Ruin of this Your Majesties Kingdom, We look upon it as our Duty most humbly to beseech your Majesty to extend Your

Royal Compassion to your subjects of this Land, by Causing your Royal pleasure to be signified to the Commissioners and Other Officers of Your Revenue, that they may do what in them Lyes for the allaying and Quieting the fears of your People.

Council Chamber Dublin

May the 20th, 1724.

Midleton
Shannon
Wm. Conolly
Edw. Tuam
Kildare
Meath
Abercorn
Mountjoy
Santry
Tullamore
Ralph Gore
Gust. Hume
Edw. Crofton
Oliver St George
R Tighe
Marm. Coghill

This address was never promulgated, and Swift appears not to have actually seen it (see p. 131, l. 18), but it was sent to London, and provoked a reply expressing extreme dissatisfaction.

P. 27, l. 7. *Caesar's Statue*. This bronze statue had been erected in 1722; Swift refers to it in a letter to Robert Cope, dated from Dublin, Oct. 9, 1722: 'When you come to town, you must be ready, at what time you hear the sound of tabret, harp, etc. to worship the brazen image set up, or else be cast into a cold, watery furnace. I have not yet seen it, for it does not lie in my walks, and I want curiosity.' *Corr.* iii. 138-9 and *note*.

l. 35. *those who Live in England upon Irish Estates*. In his letters to Ford Swift notes: 'If they pass, they will bring you Englishmen with Irish Estates, hither with a vengeance. *Aliusque malo fuit usus in illo.*' (Feb. 13, 1723/4.) 'This whole Town is taken up with a monster they call a Draper, who like a Duns is endeavouring to keep you and the like of you in England; but the Ld Lt swears you shall come back and live at home, if Woods

Halfpence can bring you.' (Nov. 27, 1724.) See *Letters to Ford*, pp. 102, 112. Edward Southwell also pointed out in *A Letter to William Wood, Esq.*; that none of Wood's opponents had had notice to attend before the Council, or else many of those living in England, who had property in Ireland, would have appeared. And he adds a list of 'Lords and Others living in England who have Estates or Places in Ireland'. See Appendix II, p. 355. Cf. also a letter from Archbishop King to Edward Southwell, dated Sept. 10, 1724: 'Many of the nobility and gentry, living in England, who have estates in Ireland, have writ to their respective receivers not to accept any of these halfpence in their rents.' Quoted by Monck Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. lxxxix.

P. 28, l. 15. *must I be at the Trouble of repeating it every Morning*. The usual humility of the Drapier is lacking in this paragraph, and the voice of the Dean can be heard breaking through.

l. 16. *Are our Peoples hearts waxed Gross*. Cf. Matt. xiii. 15: 'For this people's heart is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed.'

l. 21. *Be not like the Deaf Adder*. Cf. Ps. lviii. 4-5: 'even like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ears; which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer: charm he never so wisely.' (Prayer-Book version.)

P. 29, l. 23. *mark and observe those who presume to offer these Half-pence*. This was effectively done, and all tradesmen were in danger of being boycotted who did not put up a notice that they would refuse Wood's coin. See *Introd.*, p. xxxvi.

P. 30, l. 2. *an ADVERTISEMENT*. This became the model for all the declarations against Wood's Halfpence which were drawn up by numerous public bodies during the autumn of 1724. See *Introd.*, p. xxxv, and cf. also *Presentment of the Grand Jury*, p. 95.

P. 31, l. 12: *How long, O Lord, Righteous and True*. Rev. vi. 10. Quoted inexactly.

l. 17. *you had none to Sell them*. See *Introd.*, p. lxxxii.

l. 21. *Advertise both*. Regular advertisements of the letters appeared in Harding's newspaper. See *Introd.*, pp. lxxxiii, lxxxv.

l. 23. *Sell them as Cheap as you can*. See note to p. 3, l. 14.

LETTER III

P. 35, l. 8. *A Printed Paper was sent to me.* The following text of the *Report of the Committee of the Privy Council* is taken from one of these 'printed papers' which Swift refers to, which is now in the Forster Collection. The original Report, dated July 24, 1724, is in the Record Office (*S.P.* 63, vol. 384, no. 113), and shows the careful corrections made in the final copy, as here indicated in the footnotes:

The REPORT of the COMMITTEE of the Lords of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, in relation to Mr. Wood's Half-Pence and Farthings, &c.

At the Council Chamber at *Whitehall*, the 24th Day of *July*,
1724.

IN Obedience to your Majesty's Order of Reference, upon the several Resolutions and Addresses of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland, during their late Session, the late Address of your Majesty's Justices, and Privy Council of that Kingdom, and the Petitions of the County and City of *Dublin*, concerning a Patent granted by your Majesty to *William Wood* Esq; for the Coining and Uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in the Kingdom of Ireland, to such Persons as would voluntarily accept the same; and upon the Petition of the said *William Wood*, concerning the same Coinage, the Lords of the Committee have taken into their Consideration the said Patent, Addresses, Petitions, and all Matters and Papers relating thereto, and have heard and examined all such Persons, as upon due and sufficient Notice, were desirous and willing to be heard upon the Subject Matter under their Consideration, and have agreed upon the following Report, containing a true State of the whole Matter, as it appeared before them, with their humble Opinion, to be laid before your Majesty for your Royal Consideration and Determination, upon a Matter of such Importance.

The several Addresses to your Majesty from your Subjects of Ireland, contain in general Terms the strongest Representations of the great Apprehensions they were under, from the Importing and Uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in Ireland, by Virtue of the Patent granted to Mr. Wood, which they conceived

would prove highly prejudicial to your Majesty's Revenue, destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject. They represent, That the Patent had been obtained in a clandestine and unprecedented Manner, and by Notorious Misrepresentations of the State of Ireland; That if the Terms of the Patent had been complied with, this Coinage would have been of infinite Loss to the Kingdom, but that the Patentee, under Colour of the Powers granted to him, had Imported and endeavoured to Utter great Quantities of different Impressions, and of less Weight, than required by the Patent, and had been guilty of notorious Frauds and Deceit in Coining the said Copper-Money: And they humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would give such Directions, as in your great Wisdom you should think proper, to prevent the fatal Effects of Uttering any Half-pence or Farthings by Virtue of the said Patent: And the House of Commons of Ireland, in a second Address upon this Subject, Pray, That your Majesty would be pleased to give Directions to the several Officers intrusted (*orig.* concerned) in the Receipt of your Majesty's Revenue, That they do not on any Pretence whatever, receive or utter any of the said Copper Half-pence or Farthings.

In Answer to the Addresses of the Houses of Parliament of Ireland, your Majesty was most Graciously pleased to assure them, 'That if any Abuses had been committed by the Patentee, You would give the necessary Orders for Enquiring into and punishing those Abuses; and that your Majesty would do every thing, *that was in your Power*, for the Satisfaction of your people.'

In pursuance of this your Majesty's most Gracious Declaration, your Majesty was pleased to take this Matter into your Royal Consideration; and that you might be the better Enabled effectually to answer the Expectations of your People of Ireland, your Majesty was pleased by a Letter from Lord Carteret, one of your principal Secretaries of State, Dated March 10, 1723-4, to Signify your pleasure to your Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, 'That he should give Directions for sending over such Papers and Witnesses as should be thought proper to support the Objections made against the Patent, and against the Patentee, in the Execution of the powers given him by the Patent.'

Upon the Receipt of these your Majesty's Orders, the Lord Lieutenant, by his Letter of the 20th of March, 1723-4, represented the great Difficulty he found himself under, to comply with these your Majesty's Orders; and by another Letter of the 24th of March, 1723-4, 'after consulting the principal Members of both Houses, who were immediately in your Majesty's Service, and of the Privy Council,' acquainted your Majesty, 'That none of them would take upon them to advise, how any material Persons or Papers might be sent over on this Occasion, but they all seem'd apprehensive of the ill Temper *any Miscarriage*, in a Tryal, upon *Scire Facias* brought against the Patentee, might occasion in both Houses, if the Evidence were not laid as full before a Jury, as it was before them,' and did therefore, a second time, decline sending over any Persons, Papers or Materials whatsoever, to support this Charge brought against your Majesty's Patent and the Patentee.

As this Proceeding seem'd very extraordinary that, in a Matter that had raised so great and universal a Clamour in Ireland, no one Person could be prevailed upon to come over from Ireland, in support of the United Sence of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland; That no Papers, no Materials, no Evidence whatsoever of the Mischiefs arising from this Patent, or of the notorious Frauds and Deceit committed in the Execution of it, could now be had, to give your Majesty Satisfaction herein; 'your Majesty however, desirous to give your People of Ireland all possible Satisfaction, but sensible that you cannot in any Case proceed against any of the meanest of your Subjects, but according to the known Rules and Maxims of Law and Justice,' repeated your Orders to your Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that by perswasion, and making proper Allowances for their Expences, new Endeavours might be used to procure and send over such Witnesses as should be thought Material to make good the Charge against the Patent.

In Answer to these Orders, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland acquaints your Majesty, by his Letter of the 23rd of *April* to one of your principal Secretaries of State, 'That in Order to obey your Majesty's commands as far as possibly he could, at a Meeting with my *Lord Chancellor, the Chief Judges, your Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General*, he had earnestly desired their

Advice and Assistance, to enable him to send over such Witnesses as might be necessary to support the charge against Mr. *Wood's* Patent, and the Execution of it:’ The Result of this Meeting was such, that the Lord Lieutenant could not reap the least Advantage or Assistance from it, every one being so guarded with caution, against giving any Advice or Opinion in this Matter of State, apprehending great Danger to themselves from meddling in it.

The Lords of the Committee think it very strange, that there should be such great Difficulty in prevailing with persons, who had already given their Evidence before the Parliament of *Ireland*, to come over and give the same Evidence here, and especially, that the chief Difficulty should arise, from a *general Apprehension of a Miscarriage*, in an Enquiry before your Majesty, or in a proceeding by due Course of Law, in a Case, where both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most solemn Manner.

At the same time that your Majesty sent your Orders to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to send over such Evidences as were thought Material to support the Charge against the Patent, that your Majesty might, without any further Loss of Time than was absolutely necessary, be as fully informed as was possible, and that the Abuses and Frauds alledged to be committed by the Patentee, in executing the powers granted to him, might be fully and strictly enquired into, and examined, your Majesty was pleased to order that an Assay should be made of the Fineness, Value, and Weight of this Copper Money, and the Goodness thereof, compared with the former Coinages of Copper Money for Ireland, and the Copper Money coined in your Majesty’s Mint in England; and it was accordingly referred to Sir Isaac Newton, Edward Southwell, and John Scrope, Esqs. to make the said Assay and Tryal.

By the *Reports* made of this Assay, which are hereunto annexed, it appears, ‘That the *Pix* of the Copper Monies coined at Bristol by Mr. Wood for Ireland, containing the Tryal pieces, which was sealed and locked up at the Time of Coining, was opened at your Majesty’s Mint at the Tower; that the Comptroller’s Account of the Quantities of Half-pence and Farthings

coined, agreed with Mr. Wood's Account, amounting to 59 Tons, 3 Hundred, 1 Quarter, 11 pounds, and 4 Ounces; That by the Specimens of this Coinage, which had from time to time been taken from the several parcels coin'd, and sealed up in Papers, and put into the *Pix*, 60 Half-pence weighed 14 Ounces Troy, and 18 Penny Weight, which is about a quarter of an Ounce above one Pound Weight Averdupois; and 30 Farthings weighed 3 Ounces and 3 quarters of an Ounce Troy, and 46 Grains, which is also above the Weight required by the Patent. It also appears, that both Half-pence and Farthings when heated red hot spread thin under the Hammer without cracking; that the Copper of which Mr. Wood's Coinage is made, is of the same Goodness and Value with the Copper of which the Copper Money is coined in your Majesty's Mint for England, and worth in the Market about 13 Pence per Pound Weight Averdupois; That a pound of Copper wrought into Bars or Fillets, and made fit for Coinage, before brought into the Mint at the Tower of London, is worth 18 Pence per Pound, and always cost as much, and is coined into 23 Pence of Copper Money by Tale, for England; It likewise appears, that the Half-pence and Farthings coined by Mr. Wood, when compared with the Copper Money coined for Ireland, in the Reigns of King Charles II. King James II. and King William and Queen Mary, considerably exceeds them all in Weight, very far exceeds them all in Goodness, Fineness, and Value of the Copper, none of them bearing the Fire so well, not being maleable, wasting very much in the Fire, and great part of them burning into a Cinder of little or no Value at all; Specimens of all which, as likewise of Mr. Wood's Copper Money, upon Tryals and Assays made by Sir Isaac Newton, Mr. Southwell, and Mr. Scrope, were laid before this Committee for their Information.

The Lords of the Committee beg leave upon this Article of the Complaint, That notorious Frauds and Deceits had been committed by the Patentee, in executing the Powers granted him, to observe to your Majesty, That this is a Fact expressly charged upon the Patentee, and if it had in any Manner been proved, it might have enabled your Majesty, by due Course of Law, to have given the Satisfaction to your People of Ireland, that has been so much insisted upon; but as it is now *above four Months* since your

Majesty was pleased to send over to Ireland for such Evidence, as might prove a Fact alledged to be so notorious, and no Evidence at all has been as yet transmitted, nor the least expectation given of any that may hereafter be obtained, and the Tryals and Assays that have been taken of the Half-pence and Farthings coined by Mr. Wood proving so unquestionably the Weight, Goodness and Fineness of the Copper Money coined, rather exceeding the conditions of the Patent, than being any way defective, the Lords of the Committee cannot advise your Majesty, by a Writ of *Scire Facias*, or any other Manner to endeavour vacating the said Patent, when there is no Probability of success in such an Undertaking.

As these Tryals and Assays fully shew that the Patentee hath acted fairly according to the Terms and Conditions of his Patent, so they evidently prove, that the Care and Caution made use of in this Patent, by proper Conditions, Checks, and Comptroles, have effectually provided, that the Copper-Money coined for Ireland by virtue of this Patent, should far exceed the like Coinages for Ireland, in the Reigns of your Majesty's Royal Predecessors.

And that your Majesty's Royal Predecessors have exercised this undoubted Prerogative of granting to private Persons the Power and Privilege of coining Copper Half-Pence and Farthings for the Kingdom of Ireland, was proved to this Committee by several Precedents of such Patents granted to private Persons by King Charles II. and King James II. none of which were equally beneficial to your Kingdom of Ireland, nor so well guarded with proper Covenants and Conditions for the due Execution of the Powers thereby granted, altho' the Power and Validity of those Patents, and a due Compliance with them, was never in any one Instance, till this time, disputed or controverted.

By these former Patents, the sole Power of coining Copper Money for Ireland, was granted to the Patentees for the Term of 21 Years, to be coined in such Place as they should think convenient, and *such Quantities as they could conveniently issue within the Term of 21 Years*, without any Restriction of the Quantity to be coined within the whole Term, or any provision of a certain Quantity, only to be coined annually to prevent the ill Consequences of too great a Quantity to be poured in at once, at the

Will and pleasure of the Patentees; no provision was made for the Goodness and Fineness of the Copper, no Comptroler appointed to Inspect the Copper in Bars and Fillets, before coined, and take constant Assays of the Money when coined, and the power of issuing not limited *to such as would voluntarily accept the same*; but by the Patent granted to *John Knox*, the Money coined by Virtue of that Patent, *is made and declared to be the current Coin of the Kingdom of Ireland*, and a pound Weight of Copper was allowed to be coined into *2 Shillings and 8 Pence*, and whatever Quantity should be coined, a Rent of *16 l. per Annum* only was reserved to the Crown, and 700 Tons of Copper were computed to be coined within the 21 Years, without any Complaint.

The Term granted to Mr. Wood for coining Copper Money is for *14 Years* only, the Quantity for the whole Term limited to *360 Tons*, 100 Ton only to be issued within one year, and 20 Tons each Year for the 13 remaining Years; a Comptroller is appointed by the Authority of the Crown to Inspect, Comptrole, and Assay the Copper, as well not coined as coined; the Copper to be fine British Copper, cast into Bars or Fillets, which when heated red hot would spread thin under the Hammer; a Pound Weight of Copper to be coined into *2 Shillings and Six-pence*, and *without any Compulsion or Currency inforced, to be receiv'd by such only as would voluntarily and wilfully accept the same*; a Rent of *800 l. per Annum*¹ is reserved unto your Majesty, and *200 l. per Annum* to your Majesty's Clerk Comptroller, to be paid annually by the Patentee, for the full Term of the 14 Years, which for 13 Years when 20 Tons of Copper only are coined, is not inconsiderable; these great and essential Differences in the several Patents, that have been granted for coining Copper Money for the Kingdom of Ireland, seemed sufficiently to justify the care and caution that was used in granting the Letters Patent to Mr. Wood.

It has been further represented to your Majesty, That these Letters Patent were obtain'd by Mr. Wood in a clandestine and unprecedented Manner, and by gross Misrepresentations of the State of the Kingdom of Ireland. Upon enquiring into this Fact it appears, That the Petition of Mr. Wood for obtaining this Coinage, was presented to your Majesty at the Time that several

¹ Original report has correctly '*100 l. per Annum*'.

other Petitions and Applications were made to your Majesty, for the same Purpose, by sundry Persons, well acquainted and conversant with the Affairs of Ireland, setting forth the great want of small Money and Change in all the common and lower Parts of Traffick, and Business throughout the Kingdom, and the Terms of Mr. Wood's Petition seeming to your Majesty most reasonable, thereupon a Draught of a Warrant directing a Grant of such Coinage to be made to Mr. Wood, was referr'd to your Majesty's then Attorney and Solicitor General of England, to Consider and Report their Opinion to your Majesty; Sir Isaac Newton, as the Committee is informed was Consulted in all the Steps of settling and adjusting the Terms and Conditions of the Patent; and after mature deliberation, your Majesty's Warrant was sign'd, directing an Indenture in such Manner as is practised in your Majesty's Mint in the Tower of London, for the coining of Gold and Silver Monies, to pass the great Seal of Great Britain, which was carried through all the usual Forms and Offices without Haste or Precipitation, That the Committee cannot discover the least pretence to say, this Patent was pass'd or obtained in a clandestine or unprecedented Manner, unless it is to be understood, that your Majesty's granting a Liberty of Coining Copper Money for Ireland, under the Great Seal of Great Britain, without referring the Consideration thereof to the principal Officers of Ireland is the Grievance and Mischief complained of. Upon this Head it must be admitted, that Letters Patents *under the Great Seal of Great Britain for coining Copper Money for Ireland*, are Legal and Obligatory, a just and reasonable Exercise of your Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and in no Manner derogatory, or invasive, of any Liberties or Privileges of your Subjects of Ireland. When any Matter or Thing is Transacting that concerns or may Affect your Kingdom of Ireland, if your Majesty has any Doubts concerning the same, or sees just Cause for considering your Offices of Ireland, your Majesty is frequently pleased to refer such Considerations to your chief Governours of Ireland,¹ but the Lords of the Committee hope it will not be asserted, that any legal Orders or Resolutions of your Majesty can or ought to be called in Question or invalidated, because the Advice or Consent of your chief Governours of that Kingdom was not previously had upon them:¹

¹⁻¹ Originally thus: 'which gracious Condescension in Your Majesty,

The Precedents are many, wherein Cases of great Importance to Ireland, and that immediately affected, the Interests of that Kingdom, Warrants, Orders, and Directions, by the Authority of your Majesty and your Royal Predecessors, have been issued under the Royal Sign Manual, without any previous Reference, or Advice of your Officers of Ireland, which have always had their due Force, and have been punctually complied with and obeyed. And as it cannot be disputed but this Patent might legally and properly pass under the Great Seal of Great Britain, so their Lordships cannot find any Precedents of References to the Officers of Ireland, of what passed under the Great Seal of England; on the contrary, there are Precedents of Patents passed under the Great Seal of Ireland, where in all the previous Steps the References were made to the Officers of England.¹

By the Misrepresentation of the State of Ireland, in order to obtain this Patent, it is presumed, is meant, That the Information given to your Majesty of the great want of small Money, to make small Payments, was groundless, and that there is no such want of small Money: The Lords of the Committee enquired very particularly into this Article, and Mr. Wood produced several Witnesses,² that directly asserted the great want of small Money for Change, and the great Damage that Retailers and Manufactures suffered for want of such Copper Money. Evidence was given, That considerable Manufacturers have been obliged to give Tallies, or Tokens in Cards, to their Workmen for want of small Money, signed upon the Back, to be afterwards exchanged for larger Money: That a Premium was often given to obtain small Money for necessary Occasions: Several Letters from Ireland to Correspondents in England were read, complaining of the want

cannot be supposed to import, that their Advice or Consent is at all necessary or essential upon any point, where Your Majesty is pleased to consult them, no more than their Dissent or dislike can tend to invalidate or call in question any legal orders or Resolutions of Your Majesty.'

¹ Originally continued: 'which was the Case in the Patent granted to John Knox above mentioned, the Consideration of which was referr'd to the Attorney and Solicitor General of England.'

² Originally inserted after *Mr. Wood produced several Witnesses*, '(though with great reason he complained of the Difficulty he found of prevayling with any body of that Kingdom to appear and give Evidence contrary to the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament,)'

of Copper Money, and expressing the great Demand there was for this Money.

The great want of small Money was further proved by the common Use of *Raps*, a counterfeit Coin, of such base Mettal, that what passes for a Half-Penny, is not worth half a Farthing, which *Raps* appeared to have obtained a Currency, out of Necessity and for want of better small Money to make Change with, and by the best Accounts, the Lords of the Committee have Reason to believe, That there can be no doubt, that there is a real want of small Money in Ireland, which seems to be so far admitted on all Hands, that there does not appear to have been any Misrepresentation of the State of Ireland in this Respect.

In the second Address from the House of Commons to your Majesty, They most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give Directions to the several Officers intrusted with the Receipt of your Majesty's Revenue, that they do not, on any pretence whatsoever, receive or utter such Half-Pence or Farthings, and Mr. Wood, in his Petition to your Majesty, Complains, that the Officers of your Majesty's Revenue had already given such Orders to all the inferior Officers not to receive any of this Coin.

¹Your Majesty, by your Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, Wills, Requires and Commands your 'Lieutenant, Deputy, or other Chief Governour or Governours of your Kingdom of Ireland, and all *other Officers and Ministers of your Majesty*, your Heirs and Successors in England, Ireland or elsewhere, *to be aiding and assisting to the said William Wood*, his Executors, &c. in the Execution of all or any the Powers, Authorities, Directions, Matters or Things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their Benefit and Advantage, by Virtue, and in Pursuance of the said Indentures, in all Things as becometh, &c. ²And if the Officers of the Revenue have, upon their own Authority, given any Orders, Directions, Significations, or Intimations,

¹ The beginning of this paragraph was originally: 'This proceeding of the Officers of the Revenue of Ireland, seems indeed very extraordinary.'

² To end of paragraph, originally thus: 'And the Officers of the Revenue presume upon their own Authority in defiance of Your Majestys Commands and Directions, thus expressly, and Authoritatively given to prohibit

to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering the Copper Money coined and imported, pursuant to your Majesty's Letters Patent, this cannot but be looked upon as a very extraordinary Proceeding.

In another Paragraph of the Patent your Majesty has covenanted and granted unto the said William Wood, his Executors, &c. 'That upon performance of Covenants, on his and their Parts, he and they shall peaceably, and quietly, have, hold, and enjoy all the Powers, Authorities, Privileges, Licences, Profits, Advantages, and all other Matters and Things thereby granted, *without any Let, Suit, Trouble, Molestation or Denial of your Majesty, your Heirs or Successors, or of, or by any of your or their Officers or Ministers, or any Person or Persons.* &c.' This being so expressly granted and covenanted by your Majesty, and there appearing no Failure, Non-Performance, or Breach of Covenants, on the Part of the Patentee, the Lords of the Committee cannot advise your Majesty¹ to give Directions to the Officers of the Revenue, not to receive or utter any of the said Copper Half-Pence or Farthings as has been desired.

Mr. Wood having been heard by this Council, produced his several Witnesses, all the Papers and Precedents, which he thought Material, having been read and considered, and having as he conceived, fully vindicated both the Patent, and the Execution thereof. For his further Justification, and to clear himself from the Imputation of attempting to make to himself any unreasonable Profit or Advantage, and to enrich himself at the Expence of the Kingdom of Ireland, by endeavouring to impose upon them, and utter a greater Quantity of Copper Money, than the necessary Occasions of the People shall require, and can easily take off, delivered a Proposal in Writing, signed by himself, which is hereunto annexed, and Mr. Wood having by the said Letters Patent, 'covenanted, granted, and promised to, and with your Majesty, your Heirs and Successors, that he shall and will from time to time in the making the said Copper Farthings and

the receiving and uttering the Copper money coined and imported Pursuant to Your Majestys Letters Patent.'

¹ Originally thus: after *advise Your Majesty*—'to comply with the request of the House of Commons, by giving such Directions to the Officers of the Revenue as is desired in their Address'.

Half-pence in England, and in transporting the same from time to time to Ireland, and in uttering, vending, disposing and dispersing the same there, and in all his Doings and Accounts concerning the same, submit himself to the Inspection, Examination, order and Comptrol of your Majesty and your Commissioners of the Treasury or High Treasurer for the time being;’ the Lords of the Committee are of Opinion, that your Majesty upon this Voluntary Offer and Proposal of Mr. Wood, may give proper Orders and Directions for the Execution and due Performance of such Parts of the said Proposal, as shall be judged most for the interest and Accommodation of your Subjects of Ireland: In the mean time, it not appearing to their Lordships that Mr. Wood has done or committed any Act or Deed, that may tend to invalidate, or make void his Letters Patent, or to forfeit the Privileges and Advantages thereby granted to him by your Majesty; It is but just and reasonable, that your Majesty should immediately send Orders to your Commissioners of the Revenue, and all other your Officers in Ireland, to revoke all Orders, Directions, Significations, or Intimations whatsoever, that may have been given by them, or any of them, to¹ hinder or obstruct¹ the receiving and uttering this Copper Money, and that the Half-Pence and Farthings already coined by Mr. Wood, amounting to about 17000 l. and such further Quantity as shall make up the said 17000 l. to 40000 l. ‘be suffered and permitted without any Lett, Suit, Trouble, Molestation, or Denial of any of your Majesty’s Officers or Ministers whatsoever, to Pass, and be received as Current Money by such as shall be willing to receive the same.’ At the same time, it may be adviseable for your Majesty, to give the proper Orders, that Mr. Wood shall not Coin, Import into Ireland, utter or dispose of any more Copper Half-Pence or Farthings, than to the amount of 40000 l. according to his own Proposal, without your Majesty’s special Licence or Authority, to be had for that Purpose; and if your Majesty shall be pleased to Order, that Mr. Wood’s Proposal, delivered to the Lords of the Committee, shall be transmitted to your Majesty’s Chief Governour, Deputies, or other your Ministers, or Officers in Ireland, it will give them a proper Opportunity to consider,²

¹⁻¹ Instead of *hinder or obstruct* originally *prohibit and forbid*.

² Originally thus: after *a proper opportunity to consider*—‘which of the

Whether, after the Reduction of 360 Tons of Copper, being in Value 100800 l. to 142 Tons, 17 Hundred, 16 Pounds being in Value 40,000 l. only, any thing can be done for the further Satisfaction of the People of Ireland.

P. 35, l. 16. *in the London Journal*. Though Swift suggests that this was a 'print of no authority or consequence' and thus throws doubt upon the official value of the Report, he was of course aware that this Journal—founded in 1719 as a rival to the *Tory Mist's* and *Applebee's*—was closely connected with Walpole, whom it had consistently supported in its *Cato's Letters* during the South Sea Bubble excitement. (See Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers*, i. 110–13.) Monck Mason suggests that Walpole did not publish it officially in the *Gazette*, because 'he dared not stake his credit upon such a document which, in its published form, contains some gross misstatements'. *St. Patrick's*, p. 336, n.

P. 36, l. 8. *before it was communicated to the Government*. The Report was taken into consideration at a meeting of the Privy Council at the Court of Kensington, Aug. 6, 1724, and his Majesty was 'pleased, with the advice of His Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order the Lords Commissioners of His Treasury to Give Proper Directions that the said William Wood shall not Coin, Import into Ireland Utter or dispose of any more Copper Halfpence or Farthings, than to the amount of Forty Thousand pounds according to his own proposall without His Majestys Speciall Licence or authority to be had for that purpose . . . the Lords Commissioners of the Revenue and other officers in Ireland to revoke any Directions thay may have given to hinder or obstruct the receiving and uttering this Copper money—up to Forty Thousand pounds . . . and a copy of Wood's Proposals to be sent to the Ld Lieut: or Lords Justices that they may consider whether anything can be done for the further satisfaction of the People of Ireland.'

said Proposals (besides the reduction of 360 Tons of Copper, to the value of £40,000 which Your Majesty may be pleased immediately to Order, Mr Wood having voluntarily offered to submit to such a restriction,) may tend most to the ease and satisfaction of the People of Ireland, that proper Measures may be taken thereupon.'

It is evident, therefore, that in spite of Swift's insinuations the Irish government received the Report officially at the same time as it appeared in print.

P. 37, l. 6. *Coleby*. There are no records available of the trial of Coleby at the King's Bench, but Monck Mason quotes a letter from Archbishop King to Edward Southwell, dated Aug. 15, 1724, which contains the following account:

'As to Coleby, he was turned out of the treasury for robbing it of a considerable sum of money. I was present at his trial at the King's-Bench, and the evidence was such as convinced every one, in his conscience, that he was guilty; but, the proofs being presumptive, and not direct, the jury acquitted him; on which the judge (Pine, if I remember right) observed the happiness of English subjects, that, though every body was convinced of a man's guilt, yet, if the evidence did not come up to the strict requisites of the law, he would escape; and he instanced it in the criminal.' See *St. Patrick's*, pp. xciv-xcv.

l. 6. *Brown*. John Browne of the Neale, County Mayo, who had a small ironworks there, was the most important of the witnesses before the Council. He had left Ireland on account of a prosecution against him, which had been ordered by the House of Commons 'for contriving and maliciously carrying on a conspiracy to take away the life of John Bingham, and others'. The Committee had found that he was a person 'not fit to serve his Majesty in any Office or Employment, Civil or Military, whatsoever': that, 'in the Course of his Examination, he had grossly prevaricated with this Committee'. See *Commons' Journals*, iii. 360. In *The Case of John Browne* (London 1725) he attempts to excuse himself for appearing as a witness against the Irish Parliament. He repeated this plea in his letter to Swift of April 4, 1728, where he asks that the passage in this Letter should be omitted from later editions of Swift's works. (N.B. He is also attacked, but not by name, in Swift's sermon, *Doing Good*; see *Works*, iv. 186.) Swift was good enough to make this omission in 1735. Perhaps he had never seen *The Case of John Browne* in its longer form (see Appendix II, p. 370), which contained a very violent personal attack upon himself. Of course Browne may not have been responsible for this; it is possible that

these additions may have been added to a reprint of the original paper at the instigation of Wood. In any case Browne seems to have offered ample atonement to Swift. After his return to Ireland he published a series of pamphlets on the subject of trade and coinage (1728-30) not under his own name, which again brought him into controversy with Swift. These were afterwards collected in two volumes, and he presented a copy to Swift, and divulged to him the secret of their authorship. (See Harold Williams, *Dean Swift's Library*. Facsimile of Sale Catalogue, p. 8, no. 296.) Mr. Charles Fitzgerald most kindly showed me the one of these volumes which is in his possession, containing MS. notes in the handwriting of Swift—a few short and characteristic comments—though evidently not sufficient to attract Faulkner's attention, as the book is not marked in the sale catalogue. In 1730 Browne published also a volume entitled *The Lucubrations of Sallmanazor Histrum Esq. together with the Plain Dealer, as they were publish'd weekly, etc.*, with a dedication in his own name of the first part to Elizabeth, Lady Gore, and the second to Lord St. George, Governor of Leitrim and Roscommon, so that he seems to have lived down his earlier disgraces. After Swift's death he set up a unique memorial at the Neale, and left an endowment to provide annual celebrations there in honour of the Drapier. See *Corr.* iv. 463-4. As we are concerned here with the problem of his reputation and character, I cannot resist the temptation to add some further picturesque details of his later career, generously provided me by Mr. F. T. Higgins, from Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, 1749:

(1) 'Yesterday came on the Trial of John Browne, Esq., for Killing Robert Millar, Esq., in a Duel, which Trial began at eight o'clock in the morning and continued till near five, when the Jury, after a short Stay, brought in their Verdict: Guilty of Manslaughter. Mr. Browne, upon the Occasion was attended by a great Number of the Nobility and Gentry.' (April 18/22, 1749.)

(2) 'Whereas a Report has been industriously and maliciously spread, that I had ordered the Bells to be rung and Bonfires to be made in several parts of this City [Dublin] to foment riots and public disturbances in Town on the Night of my Acquittal, and that I run [*sic*] through the Streets with a drawn Sword and

Pistols in my Hands: This is to certify, that all the said Reports are false, scandalous and malicious in every Particular, propagated to ridicule and asperse me at this critical Time, for I did not order one Bonfire to be made, nor one Bell to be rung; but on the contrary used my endeavours to prevail on the Multitude to suppress their Joy; and if I have so lived in Society as to have Friends in it to rejoice at my Deliverance, it cannot be imputed as a Crime to me. . . .

John Browne.'

April 26, 1749.

(April 25/29, 1749.)

(3) Last Saturday [May 6] John Brown, Esq., was burnt in the Hand, at the Bar of the King's Bench, and ordered into Confinement for six months for killing Robert Miller, Esq.'

(May 6/9, 1749.)

(4) 'Last Tuesday [Nov. 21], John Browne of the Neale, Esq., was tried at the King's Bench, for a charge of Perjury against him, and was honourably acquitted; and we hear he intends to move the Court for Copies of the Examination and Indictment, in order to prosecute the persons concerned in that malicious Prosecution.'

(Nov. 21/25, 1749.)

1. 6. *Mr. Finley the Banker, and one more whose Name I know not.* These persons are described in the Privy Council Register (June 1722 to Aug. 1724, p. 550) as 'Mr Robert Finlay Merchant in London, Mr Thomas Bailey a Trader of Dublin at this time in London and Capable to give some Information relating to the said affair'. Finley's connexion with Wood is referred to in the *Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland* (see Appendix II, p. 367), p. 11: 'One of Mr. Wood's Witnesses owned that he had contracted for 30,000*l.* of these Half-pence, at 30 *per Cent.* discount, in Case Mr. Wood obtained a Proclamation, which he apprehended would enforce a Currency. I would ask him and Mr. Wood, why the one insisted on a Proclamation, and the other offered so large a Premium, if there was so great a Want of, and Demand, for Half-pence in Ireland?' Thomas Bailey was evidently one of Wood's agents in Dublin; he is referred to in a letter from Lord Middleton to Alan Brodrick, dated Sept. 30, 1723: 'There was a letter written by Eleazar Edwards to his correspondent Thomas Baillie in Dublin, dated 14th September,

1723, in which Edwards informs Bailie, that Wood said, if the halfpence would not go in Ireland, he shall have a license to passe them in England, and thereupon Edwards directs Bailie before he sends the halfpence back to him, to let him know what Secretary Hopkins saith to it, and what Bailie finds is like to be done with them here.' See Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 371.

l. 23. *a Collector in Shropshire*. I have not been able to find any evidence about this story: for information about Wood see *note* to p. 4, l. 20.

l. 28. *Hamilton*. Possibly the Mr. Hamilton, who came to Dublin from London in January, 1723-4, casually mentioned as the bearer of a private letter from St. John Brodrick to Lord Chancellor Middleton. See Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 378.

I have not been able to find any record of this trial by Sir Isaac Newton of copper coinage intended for Ireland in 1718, but the following extracts from the Calendar of Treasury Papers show that Wood was offering to provide the Mint with fine British copper for the coinage of halfpence and farthings:

'Mint Office; 12 Dec. 1717.

Sir Isaac Newton to the Lords of the Treasury.

Is ready to receive at the Mint a ton or two of fine copper in bags every month from Mr. William Wood, like the specimen which he had of him, but if he intends to prepare it some other way, desires a specimen that it may be assayed.' (Vol. ccix, no. 19).

'12 May, 1718. Proposals of W. Wood to the Lords of the Treasury, for the delivery of fine British copper into the Mint at the Tower for coining halfpence and farthings.' (Vol. ccxiv, no. 14.)

P. 38, l. 16. *A Proceeding that seems very Extraordinary*. Monck Mason has the following note: 'But this will not appear so strange or inexplicable after perusing the following letter from Archbishop King, himself one of the Council, to Edward Southwell, . . . dated the 23d. March 1723. . . . "My lord lieutenant sent for several lords and commoners of the privy-council, and communicated to them a letter from my Lord Carteret, writ by his majesty's command, in which was repeated the answer given to the addresses of the lords and commons, about one William Wood's farthings and halfpence; and his grace is required to send

over witnesses and evidences against the patentee or patent; this has surprised most people, because we were borne in hand that that affair was dead, and that we should never hear any more of it.

“His grace’s design was, to be advised by what means and methods he might effectually comply with his majesty’s commands; and by what I could perceive, it was the sense of all, that it was not possible, in the present situation of affairs, to answer his majesty’s expectations, or those of the kingdom; and that, for these reasons:

“1st, because this is a controversy between the Parliament of Ireland and William Wood; and, the parliament being now prorogued, no body either would, or durst, take on them to meddle in a business attacked by the parliament, or pretend to manage a cause which so deeply concerned the parliament, and the whole nation, without express orders. If this letter had come whilst the parliament was sitting, and had been communicated to the houses, they could have appointed certain persons to have acted for them, and raised a fund to support them, as has been done formerly in this kingdom on several occasions; but, for any, without such authority, to make himself a party for the legislature and people of Ireland, would be a bold undertaking, and, perhaps, dangerous; for, if such undertaker or undertakers should fail in producing all evidences that may be had, or any of the papers necessary to make the case evident, they must expect to be severely handled the next parliament for their officiousness, and bear the blame of the miscarriage of the cause: for these reasons, as it seemed to me, the privy councillors were unwilling to engage at all in the business, or to meddle with it.

“But, 2dly, the thing seemed impracticable; because it would signify nothing to send over the copies of the papers that were laid before the parliament, if the design is, as it seems to be, to bring the patent to a legal trial; for such copies, we were told by lawyers, could not be produced in any court as evidence; and, as to the originals, they are in possession of the houses, and (as was conceived) could not be taken from the proper officers with whom they were trusted, but by the like order.

“And, as to the witnesses, it was a query, whether my lord lieutenant by his own power could send them; and, if he have such power, yet it will not be possible to come at the witnesses,

for several in each house vouched several facts on their own knowledge, to whom the houses gave credit; my lord lieutenant can neither be apprized of the persons nor of the particulars which the members testified; whereas, if the parliament was sitting, those members would appear, and make good their assertions." See *St. Patrick's*, p. lxxxvii.

P. 39, l. 2. *Undertaker*. See note to p. 145, l. 31.

l. 13. *other Patents*. Cf. *A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland* (see Appendix II, p. 367), pp. 17 ff.:

'But *Ireland* has been a continual Scene of those Confusions which attend a Currency of base Coin. Sir *William Petty* reckons the Gains made by the Difference, Confusion, and Badness of Coins, and the Exorbitancy of Exchange, among the great Calamities of this poor Island. Our Parliaments have always been truly sensible of this, and therefore when they granted the Tunnage and Poundage, and the Excise or new Impost to King *Charles* 2d. and his Successors for ever, expressly enacted, that all the Duties of Excise, and all Fines and Penalties, &c. should be paid in current and lawful Money of *England* hoping thereby to put a Check to the Currency of base Coin for the future. And I do not doubt but the Parliament of *England* had the same Design, in ordering the Postage of Letters, in *Ireland*, to be paid in the like Money. It would have been happy for *Ireland*, had the Intentions of our Legislators been strictly pursued. But that this may be more plain, I shall give a few Instances.

"In the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, during *Tyrone's* tedious Rebellion, about the Year 1601, under the specious Pretence of distressing the Rebels, by destroying their Trade with Foreigners, a base Coin was proposed for *Ireland*. It was strenuously opposed in the Queen's Council, as incapable of answering those valuable Purposes. The Queen herself was very averse to it, often saying, it would reflect on her self, and disoblige her Army. But *Buckhurst*, then Lord Treasurer, by pleading a Necessity, which generally governs the present Occasion, got the Queen's Leave for altering the Money for a certain Time, and then reducing it to the old Standard." (*Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz.*) What were the Effects of this Coin appears by the Lord Deputy's Letters to her Majesty. He says, "the Alteration of the Coin had bred an universal Grievance, that the Prices of all Things were increased

above Measure, that they do not only pay excessive Rates for all Things, but can hardly get any Thing for this new Coin." (F. *Morrison's* Itin. Fol. 106 & 205). Queen *Elizabeth*, in her Proclamation, 1602, for regulating the Exchange, says, "she had instituted this mixed Money to distress the Rebels, but it had only served for a pretext to new Inventions of Deceit"; that Exchange was intollerably enhanced, and that the Merchant had raised the Price of his Wares excessively, selling for 300*l*, what cost him but 100*l*. (Ib. Fol. 269). King *James* 1st. finding the Rebellion in *Ireland* wholly suppressed, and pitying the Miseries which the People of *Ireland* suffered, called in this mixed Money; and in 1605, sent over new silver Harpers of the same purity with their old ones. (Irish Hist. Lib. Fol. 168.)

'King *James* 1st. coined Brass Harpers and Smulkins, and King *Charles* 1st. Copper Half-pence and Farthings for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, from which, altho properly a base Coin, this Kingdom found no great Inconvenience: For the Coinage being in the Hands of the Crown, no more were coined than the Necessities of the People required. And this is the Case of *England* at present, their Half-pence being coined in the Royal Mint. But in the Reign of King *William*, when there was a Patent existing for the coining of Half-pence and Farthings, the Parliament declared the great Quantities of Half-pence, then coined, a Burthen, and by an Act passed ix and x *Gul.* Cap. 33. stopped the Coinage of them for a certain Time, notwithstanding the Patent then in Being.

'King *Charles* 2d. 1660 granted a Patent for coining only Farthings for the Kingdom of *Ireland*, to Colonel *Armstrong*: But I do not find he ever made any Use of it. For all our Copper and Brass Money to the Year 1680, was coined by private Persons, who obtained particular Licences, on giving Security to change their Half-pence and Farthings for Gold and Silver; but some of their Securities failing, others pretending the Half-pence which were tendered to be changed, were Counterfeits, the Publick always suffered. Colonel *Armstrong's* Son, finding great Profit was made by coining Half-pence in *Ireland*, by Virtue of particular Licences, recallable at Pleasure, solicited and obtained a Patent in the Name of *George Legg*, afterwards Lord *Dartmouth*, for coining Half-pence for *Ireland*, from 1680, for

21 Years, *he giving Security to exchange them for Gold or Silver on Demand.* In pursuance of this, he coined considerable Quantities of Half-pence for four Years; but in 1685, *Knox*, with the consent of *Armstrong*, got the remaining Part of this Term, granted by Patent in his own Name, *he giving Security, as above*, and got his *Half-pence declared the current Coin of Ireland*, notwithstanding two Acts of Parliament had enacted that they should not be received in the Revenue. *Knox* was interrupted in his Coinage 1689, by *King James's taking it into his own Hands*, to coin his famous *Brass Money*, of which he coined no less than £965, 375, *three Penny-worth* of Mettal passing for £10 *Ster.* In this Money Creditors were obliged to receive their Debts, and by this cruel Strategem *Ireland* lost about £60,000 *per Month.* (*Irish Hist. Lib. Fol. 171, 172, 173.*) This not only made our Gold and Silver, but even our Half-pence, to disappear, which obliged *King William* to coin *Pewter Half-pence* for the Use of his *Army*; . . .

'After the Revolution, Coll. *Roger Moore* being possessed of *Knox's* Patent, commenced his Coinage in *Dublin*, and at first kept several Offices for changing his Half-pence for Gold or Silver. He soon overstocked the Kingdom so with Copper-Money, that Persons were obliged to receive large Sums in it: for the Officers of the Crown were industrious Dispersers of it, for which he allowed them a *Premium.* It was common at that time for one to compound for one fourth *Copper*, and the *Collectors* paid nothing else. The Country being thus overcharged with a base Coin, every one rendered it to Coll. *Moore* to be changed. This he refused, on Pretence they were Counterfeits, . . . On this he quitted coining 1698, but left Us in a miserable Condition, which is lively represented in a Memorial presented by *Will. Trench*, Esq; to the Lords of the *Treasury*, on Mr. *Wood's* obtaining his Patent . . . Coll. *Moore* finding the Sweet of such a Patent, applied to *King William* for a Renewal of it; but his Petition being referred to the Government of *Ireland*, the *Affair was fairly represented to the King*, whereby his Designs were frustrated.' Cf. also Nelson, *Coinage of Ireland*, p. 18.

P. 40, l. 20. *Am I a Free-Man in England, and do I become a Slave, &c.* Had Swift in mind the famous case in which Chief Justice Holt for the first time laid down the doctrine 'that the

status of slavery cannot exist in England, and that as soon as a slave breathes the air of England he is free'? (See Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 407.)

P. 41, l. 3. *an Assay made.* Monck Mason notes that the Report of the Council, in referring to Sir Isaac Newton's Assay (see *note* to p. 21, l. 9), omits an important reservation included therein—'But although the copper was very good, and the money, one piece with another, was full weight, yet the single pieces were not so equally coined in the weight as they should have been': also 'that the coin assayed and referred to by this report was not of that sort which had been transported to Ireland'. He quotes a letter from Archbishop King to Edward Southwell, dated Sept. 10, 1724, pointing out the general Irish dissatisfaction with the Report, and particularly stating that whereas Sir Isaac Newton's assay was made of coins all manufactured after March 25, 1723, the coins which had been sent to Ireland were all manufactured in 1722. See *St. Patrick's*, p. lxxxix.

l. 18. *I have now before me an exact Computation.* This was a report of an assay made upon a number of different parcels of Wood's coin by Mr. Maple, a chemist of Dublin, for the Irish House of Commons. Two copies of this report were enclosed in a letter from the Duke of Grafton to Mr. Walpole, dated Sept. 14, 1723 (*S.P.* 63, vol. 381). I give the full details here, as it shows Swift's method of choosing his facts rather unscrupulously for his purpose.

Remarks on the Copper Coin Intended for the Use of Ireland.

	Wt of a $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in Grs	Number in one lb.	Current Value		
			d.	$\frac{1}{4}$ d.	Decm
The first Sort	120	58.33	29	0	.33
2nd Do	111	63.06	31	1	.06
3rd Do	103	67.96	33	1	.96
4th Do	96	72.91	36	0	.91
The mean Proportional	107.5	65.11	32	1	.11

Quantity intended 360 Tuns.

The full intrinsic value 12d. per lb.

	Intrinsic value	Current value.	Loss to public.	
		£ s.	£	s.
If the first Sort	£40,320	97,994 - 8	57,674	- 8
2 Do		105,940 - 16	65,620	- 16
3 Do		114,172 - 16	73,852	- 16
4 Do		122,488 - 16	82,168	- 16
If in a mean Proportion		109,384 - 16	69,064	- 16

P. 43, l. 14. *Butchers Half-pence, Black Dogs*. "Butchers Half-pence" might possibly be the Rex or Domini groats i.e. English halfpence, *butcher* being in card-slang the *King*. "Black Dog" applied c. 1702-30 to a counterfeit shilling, and other base silver coinage; "black" had long previously been applied to base money.' See *Slang and its Analogues*, ed. J. S. Farmer, 1890.

l. 16. *St Patrick's Coyn*. An issue of halfpence and farthings in Dublin in 1678, stamped with the figure of St. Patrick. See Nelson, *Coinage of Ireland*, pp. 16-17.

l. 19. *Lord Dartmouth, which was renewed to Knox*. See note to p. 39, l. 13.

P. 45, l. 18. *Not turned from its Duty . . . by the Hardships*. See *Intro.*, pp. ix-x.

l. 35. *Eight hundred Pounds a Year to the Crown*. This mistake was due to an error in the printed copy of the report. In the original MS. Report it reads '£100 *per annum* is reserved unto your Majesty in accordance with the Patent'. See note to p. 35, l. 8.

P. 46, l. 27. *the Longitude or the Universal Medicine*. Swift regularly refers to the discovery of the longitude in this scoffing fashion: e.g. 'A projector has lately applied to me to recommend him to the Ministry about an invention for finding out the longitude. He has given in a petition to the Queen by Mr Secretary St. John. I understand nothing of the mathematics; but I am told it is a thing as improbable as the philosopher's stone, or perpetual motion.' See *Corr.* i. 324; and cf. also *Corr.* ii. 163, 186.

It is curious to find later the record of another appeal from a projector who claimed to have discovered the longitude, and addressed the following letter to Swift at Holyhead, Sept. 27, 1727:

Reverend Sir,

Understanding that you are at Holyhead, in Order for Dublin, and inform'd that you are a Lover of the Mathematics, I make bold to trouble you with this Writing. I have about 12 months since imparted my Discourse to Dr. Dobbs, Professor of Mathematics at the College of Dublin, of finding out the Longitude of two known Stars; the same Copy I sent to the Lords of the Admiralty and the Trinity Masters, and also to Dr. Halley at

Greenwich, and to the Commanders of Ships at Liverpool and elsewhere. I begg'd either their Approbation or Objection, and their Reason to the Contrary, and ever since, which is above three Months past, have not had a Tittle of Answer. If you are that way inclin'd, you may have a View of my Discourse. I beg Pardon for this Freedom, and remain your humble servant:

John Wheldon.

The following reply seems characteristic enough:

'I understand not Mathematicks, but have been formerly troubled too much with Projectors of the Longitude to my great Mortification and some Charges by encouraging them. It is only to Mathematicians you must apply. Newton, Halley and Keil have all told me they doubted the Thing was impossible. If you can demonstrate that you have found it, there is, I hear, a Course taken, that you may discover it in London without being defrauded of your Invention. One of my Projectors cut his Throat, and the other was found an Imposter. This is all I can say; but am confident you would deceive others, or are deceiv'd yourself.'

The letter and the answer were published in Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, May 31/June 3, 1729.

P. 47, l. 5. *it was a Secret to him*. In a letter to Edward Southwell, dated March 23, 1723, Archbishop King says: 'And let me discover a sort of secret to you, the people entertained (at least a great many) a jealousy that my lord lieutenant had some hand in it. . . .' See *St. Patrick's*, p. lxxxviii. There is full evidence of the Duke's implication in the letters of Wood to his brother-in-law. See *Intro.*, p. xv.

P. 49, l. 2. *The Second may be allowed a more Knowing Witness*. This passage was omitted in 1735 in response to Browne's appeal to Swift in a letter dated April 4, 1725: 'But, alas, Sir, as long as your works subsist, wherever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain?' *Corr.* iv. 24-8. I do not know whether the modern editor is justified in reintroducing this passage into the text, without at least an apology. I can only say that I have tried to make some amends to Sir John Browne in my former note. (See *note* to p. 37, l. 6.)

l. 9. *Sir Ambrose Crawly*. Sir Walter Scott notes that he

'conducted an extensive iron manufactory'. But it is possible that Swift was thinking of Sir Ambrose Crowley—as Temple Scott suggests—a London alderman (1711–13) and elected in 1713, shortly before his death, a member of parliament for Andover. (See *Commons' Journals*, xvii, 489, 500.) As he was a member of the Draper's Company, and apparently a rich and prominent representative of the trade, it would be an apt reference for a Dublin 'Drapier'. (See H. H. Johnson, *History of the Worshipful Company of Drapers of London*, iii. 353.)

P. 50, l. 22. *mixt Money in Queen Elizabeth's Time*. Cf. p. 13, ll. 8–26 and *note*.

P. 51, l. 23. *Poining's Act*. Monck Mason has the following note: 'Swift alludes here to that celebrated act . . . which was passed by a parliament convened by Sir Edw. Poyning, at Drogheda, in the 10th year of king Henry VII. This statute enacted as follows: "that no parliament be holden hereafter in Ireland, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and counsaile there first do certifie the king, under the great seal of that land, the causes and considerations, and all such acts as them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts affirmed by the king and his counsaile to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament, under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a parliament to be had and holden as afore rehearsed." *Ir. Stat.*, i. 44. This statute was further explained by act 3 & 4 Phil. & Mar. c. 4; and 11 Eliz. ses. 3, c. 8; from which latter we learn the cause of its original enactment; that "before this statute, when liberty was given to the governors to call parliaments at their pleasure, acts passed as well to the dishonour of the prince, as to the hindrance of their subjects." *Ir. Stat.* i. 346. It appears from hence, and likewise from the style of the statutes themselves, that the sign manual of the king was not deemed indispensibly requisite; the royal assent is usually signified by the words, "Le Seigneur Deputiè le voit;" to secure the actual confirmation of regal authority appears therefore to have been the primary object of this celebrated statute.

'But, whatever was the original intention, it is to this statute

that Ireland has to attribute the state of subjugation under which she laboured for more than two centuries. This law, which, in the state of society that prevailed at that time, contemplated nothing more than to curb the power of the viceroy, and to prevent laws from being passed, suddenly, through his influence, which might be subversive of the king's power, or his subject's liberties, was wrested to purposes of a quite contrary nature, and because it was found convenient for those latter, it was continued long after the evil, which occasioned its enactment, had ceased to exist; at which time the statute itself ought, as it was no longer necessary, to have been repealed; it was, in truth, converted into a badge of slavery, and the whole nation was obliged to wear it as such, for a long time after, although only part of four shires were concerned in its original enactment; . . .

'It appears, therefore, after consideration of the whole matter, that nothing more was intended, or done upon this occasion, than to alter the manner of passing laws; it was by no means meant to transfer the power into the hands of others; Swift's sentiment, expressed in his Drapier's third letter, is exactly conformable to this.' (*St. Patrick's*, p. 343 n. 1.)

P. 54, l. 17. *All things are Lawful, but all things are not Expedient*, 1 Cor. vi. 12.

l. 20. *It was expedient*. John xviii. 14.

P. 55, l. 2. *let us compare these Patents*. Bindon also discusses at length the differences between Wood's and Knox's patents. See *Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity . . . for continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage*, pp. 16-19 (Appendix II, p. 364). And cf. also P. Nelson, *Coinage of Ireland*, p. 18.

l. 8. *The Patentee was obliged*. Swift omitted this sentence after the first edition. Perhaps it was pointed out that the 2s. 2d. was inaccurate, and in any case the comparison with Wood loses its point, when we remember that even according to Maple's assay his best coins were 120 grains and his average 107·5, i.e. little less than the weight officially demanded in Knox's patent.

P. 56, l. 9. *a Thousand Pounds per Ann. for 14 Years*. Really only £300, see note to p. 45, l. 35.

l. 34. *he selleth his People*. Ps. xlv. 12 (Prayer-Book version).

P. 57, l. 8. *great want of Copper Money*. See note to p. 4, l. 15.

l. 23. *He hath already tryed his Faculty in New-England*. Philip Nelson gives the following account of this American coinage: 'On July 12th, 1722, Wood also obtained a patent to issue coins for the North American Colonies, or, as they were then called, "The Plantations", for a term of fourteen years. The amount to be coined was not to exceed 300 tons, of which 200 tons were to be coined in the first four years and not more than ten tons per annum during the last ten. For this right of coinage Wood was to pay an annual rent to the Crown of £100 and to the clerk comptroller £200. The material for the coinage of these American pieces was a mixture called Bath metal, the composition of which, in twenty ounces of metal, was as follows:

Silver	1 dwt.
Tutanaigne	4 ozs. 19 dwts.
Brass	15 ozs.

Of this sixteen ounces were to be coined into thirty twopenny pieces, sixty pence, one hundred and twenty halfpence. This series of coins for America, best known by the name of the "Rosa Americanas", was issued during the years 1722-24. . . .

In regard to the difficulty of passing this issue, the following letter to the Governor of New Hampshire is of interest.

"Sir

Whitehall 29 Oct^r 1725.

His Majesty having been pleased to grant to Mr. William Wood his Letters Patents for the Coyning of Halfpence, Pence and Two Pences of the Value of Money of Great Britain for the Use of His Majesty's Dominions in America, which said Coyn is to receive such additional Value as shall be reasonable and agreeable to the customary allowance of Exchange in the several parts of those His Majesty's Dominions, as you will see more at large by a Copy of the Patent, which will be laid before you by the person, that delivers this Letter to you; I am to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure, that, in pursuance of a Clause in the said Patent by which all His Majesty's Officers are to be aiding and assisting to Mr. Wood in the due Execution of what is therein directed and in the legal Exercise of the several Powers and Enjoyment of the Privileges and Advantages thereby granted to

him, you give him all due Encouragement and Assistance, and that you and all such other of His Majesty's Officers there, whom it may concern, do readily perform all legal Acts, that may be requisite for that purpose; This I am particularly to recommend to your Care; and to desire your Protection to Mr Wood and to those he shall employ to transact this affair in the Provinces under your Government. I am

Sir

Your most humble Servant

Holles Newcastle.

Govr of the Massachusetts Bay
and New Hampshire.”

(See *The Coinage of William Wood*, pp. 15-17; and for a full description of the coins, pp. 25-32.)

l. 28. *already receiving a Monstrous Pension*. ‘Alluding to the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, who was to have a share in Wood's gains.’ Sir Walter Scott. The Duchess was actually receiving at this time a pension of £3,000 a year on the Irish Establishment. (See Froude, *The English in Ireland*, i. 518.)

l. 35. *not to receive any of his Coy*n. It was pointed out in several pamphlets that the commissioners of the revenue could only legally accept standard money current in England, and on these grounds they had refused Wood's coin. As this most important point is constantly raised in the Addresses of the House of Commons and of the Privy Council, in the official correspondence, and in the Report, it may be worth while quoting in full an excellent paper, in which it is very carefully discussed, probably written by David Bindon. (See Appendix II, p. 364.)

Some CONSIDERATIONS on the ATTEMPTS made to
Pass Mr. Wood's Brass-Money in IRELAND.

By a Lover of his Country.

IT is a Melancholy consideration, to see *the several Resolutions and Addresses of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland, during their late Session, the late Address of his Majesty's Justices and Privy Council of that Kingdom, and the Petition of the County and City of Dublin*; whereby the Unanimous Sense of this Nation,

and the great apprehensions they were under, from importing and uttering Copper Half-pence and Farthings in Ireland, by Virtue of the Patent granted to William Wood, have been represented in the strongest Terms: I say it is a Melancholy consideration to see the force of all these Representations, eluded by the Petitions of a single Person, such as Mr. Wood.

If Justice stood on the side of this single Person, it ought to give good Men pleasure to see that Right should take Place; But when on the contrary the Common-Weal of a whole Nation; the quieting the Minds of a People distracted with apprehensions of the utmost Danger to their Properties, nay the preservation of the purity of their Laws, is overborn by private interest, what good Man but must lament such an unhappy state of Affairs?

And since the Matter was of this Importance, and seem'd to carry with it the Testimony of Heaven in the universal cry of the People, how could any particular Members of a Community, which had thus with one Voice deprecated the Evil, with any shew of Reason take upon them, the risque of any Miscarriage in a Tryal in a Subordinate Court?

It was to our gracious Sovereign, that all these Addresses and Petitions were presented: It was into his Fatherly Hands the whole Nation committed the care of their Cause; and it would have been the highest Piece of Arrogance for any Persons to have presumed to take upon themselves a share in that trust which was only reposed in his Majesty's Hands. It is no wonder therefore, *That every one was guarded with caution against giving any Advice or Opinion in this Matter of State*; for with reason they ought to apprehend great danger to themselves from meddling in it.

Tho' this Proceeding may seem extraordinary; yet it being on a most extraordinary Matter; on a Matter of such importance as seemed to involve the civil Rights and Properties of a whole Nation in the Issue of it: On a Matter wherein the Lords and Commons were Complainants, and the King immediately concerned, not only as general Father of his People, but also as Particular and only Trustee, in whom his People reposed entire confidence to redress the Grievances complained of; was it not entirely reasonable and fit, that every particular Person of this Kingdom should Rest upon what was done by the whole Body

of the People duly assembled in Parliament, and not arrogantly assume to themselves a Power of putting the Fate of this Nation to an Issue before Twelve Men?

Since then it plainly appears that this Matter is of such a high Nature, that no particular Person ought to have intermeddled in it, it is to be presumed that the non-appearance of Persons *to support the United Sense of both Houses of Parliament of Ireland*, can never be construed as a general diffidence of being able *to support the charge brought against the Patent and Patentee*; tho' indeed it might proceed from a *general* and very reasonable *Apprehension of a Miscarriage* in this important Affair; *wherein both Houses of Parliament had declared themselves so fully convinced, and satisfied upon Evidence, and Examinations taken in the most solemn Manner*; That for my Part I (and so I hope every true lover of his Country on his Part) will look upon their Resolutions to have the same Dignity (in this Case) with a Maxim in Law, *Quia Maxima est earum dignitas, et certissima Autoritas, atque quod Maximè omnibus proberentur*.

And therefore I don't presume to enter the Lists in order to support the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, for I look upon it, that they are *so sure and uncontrollable that they ought not to be questioned*; But it shall be the business of this Paper to point out some of the Mischiefs which will naturally result from this coining of Mr. *Wood's*, in case it shou'd be forced upon us.

We are told that the Power of Issuing this Money of Mr. *Wood's* is limited, *and without any compulsion and currency enforced, to be receiv'd by such only as wou'd voluntarily and wilfully accept the same*. But then it is Melancholy to behold that this Patent is explained to be obligatory *on all his Majesty's Officers and Ministers* to receive the same.

By this means there is a foundation laid for the most unheard of confusion that was ever introduced into the Business of a Nation, for here is established a Species of Money, made of the basest Metal, which none in Employments under his Majesty must refuse in payments to the Crown or to themselves, and yet all the rest of his Subjects are at liberty to refuse the same in payments to be made to them, either by his Majesty, or by any other Person.

Thus the Revenue of the Crown will be *Highly Prejudiced*, by

the want of intrinsick Value in the Coin with which it is paid; and the Army and all others in Employments under his Majesty, are the Persons who, in the first place, must bear the burthen of this Mischief. For if they are the only Persons who are *Obliged* to receive this Coin as current Money, it is to be presum'd that no other Persons will receive the same but with considerable allowance for the difference between the *Brass-Money*, and that made of Gold or Silver.

And even with a considerable Allowance, it will be hard to conceive how this *Brass Money* will find any Degree of Currency in the World without the Assistance of a set of Men, who may probably raise great Estates in this unsettled course of Affairs; but such a set of People ought never to be encouraged by a wise Government, for they will make their Fortunes by the Losses of good Subjects, and by preying on the Revenue of the Prince. And yet those *Hucksterers, or Money-jobbers* will be found necessary if this *Brass Money* is made current in the Exchequer.

To shew in some Measure the Proportion of this Mischief to His Majesty's Revenue, and to those in immediate Offices under him: It must be considered that the gross Revenue of this Kingdom is about 500,000 *l. per Annum*, out of which must be deducted the Charge of Collection, and Draw-backs, which to be sure the several Collectors and those who are to receive the Draw-backs will take Care to receive in Sterling Money about 80,000 *l. per Annum*, and there will remain for the Discharge of the Civil and Military Lists, Pensions &c. 420,000 *l. per Annum*, which Sum it is probable issues out of the Treasury by monthly Payments of about 35,000 *l. per Month*, for otherwise the current Cash in this Nation cou'd not possibly Pay the Revenue, and serve to carry on, even the little Business of this Country, for it has never been computed that our current Coin amounts to more than 500,000 *l.* So that if 40,000 *l.* of Mr. *Wood's Brass-Money* is thrown in upon us (even admitting that no more of this Species shou'd be brought in) it is manifest that that Sum will be near one twelfth of the whole Coin in the Nation; and more than one Months Pay of the Civil and Military Lists, and Pensions &c. of this Kingdom.

If this Sum shou'd Stagnate in the Treasury, it is certain there will be no greater Loss (immediately brought) by this Coin to the

Revenue, than the *Money* that there lies dead amounts to; but if it is issued in *Monthly Payments* to the Army, and other His Majesty's Officers and Ministers, as in all probability it must: Then this Coin, being composed of a base *Mettal*, current only in the *Exchequer* where it is received at an imaginary Value of at least 60 *per Cent.* more than the real Value of the *Material*, it will be suddenly paid back again to the Collectors, and by that means pass thro' the Treasury, at least three times in every year; for there we are told it is to meet with *no Let or Molestation.*

And seeing the currency of this *Money* is not inforced on any other of his Majesty's Subjects, it is easie to conceive, that the difference of Value between this Coin, and the Gold and Silver which will be current in the Nation, will be settled by the *Money-jobbers*, at about 20 *per Cent.* discount.

By which means alone, there will be lost in the intrinsick Value of the Revenue the Sum of 24,000 *l. per. Ann.* without computing for the losses which must necessarily be brought to the Revenue, by the general diffidence, which the introducing this Coin will create among the People; all which will be manifestly *destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject.*

And yet the Evil has been here computed on a Supposition that only 40,000 *l.* of this *Money* will be utter'd in the Kingdom; But I take it to be impossible to limit the quantity that shall be brought in, especially if the Importers of it, have so sure a Market for the same as the *Exchequer.*

For tho' his Majesty should be able to prevent Mr. *Wood* from Coyning any more than 40,000 *l.* and should never hereafter be prevailed upon to grant *his special Licence or Authority*, to enlarge that Sum, yet it will be impossible to prevent the importation of this Sort of Coin from other Nations. And there have been such Variety of *Dyes* made use of by Mr. *Wood* in Stamping his Money, that it makes the discovery of Counterfeits more difficult, and the profit is so great, that it will be a sufficient temptation to our industrious Neighbours of *Holland* to send large quantities of this Coin to so sure a Market as the *Exchequer.*

And perhaps it may be a Question among Lawyers, whether a Man can be punished at the King's Suit, for counterfeiting this Coin, because it is not the current Coin of the Kingdom; for tho'

these Half-pence are to be received as Money in the Exchequer, yet in Trade they are no better than Counters, and therefore the Patent may perhaps be construed to be no more than a grant of a *Monopoly* to make those Counters.

But it is worth observing, that if this Patent is so worded, as that his Majesty's Officers, employed in the Receipt of his Revenue, can't refuse receiving this Coin, it is directly contrary to Two Acts of Parliament now in force in this Kingdom, and which are to be found in the Books of Rates distributed among the Officers of the Revenue.

For by the Act of Tunnage and Poundage. 14. and 15. Car. II. Cap. IX. the Duties thereby granted to his Majesty and his Successors are to be paid in Lawfull Money of England. And by the Act of Excise, or New Impost. 14. and 15. Car. II. Cap. VIII. it is Expressly declared and enacted 'that the several Rates and Duties of Excise, and all Fines, Penalties, Forfeitures, or other Sum, or Sums of Money Rated, imposed, Set, or Forfeited, in and by this Act, are meant and intended to be Current and Lawfull Money or Moneys of *England*, and that all and every of the same be therefore demanded, receiv'd, paid and satisfied accordingly'.

By these Acts it is manifest, that the Collectors are obliged to receive the several Duties arising from the Custom and Excise, in no other Money but such as is current and lawful Money of *England*; and Mr. *Wood's* Half-pence and Farthings not being current or lawful Money in *England*, or in this Kingdom, if this Patent is obligatory on them to receive payments in this Coin, it is contrary to Acts of Parliament, and therefore void in itself.

And if the several Collectors of his Majesty's Revenue in this Kingdom, should receive the said Duties, or any part of them, in Mr. *Wood's* Brass-Money, it would be assuming to themselves a Power to dispense with those Acts of Parliament, contrary to the Sense of both Houses of Parliament, and contrary to their respective Oaths, so that it seems highly reasonable, because consonant to Law, that *the Officers of the Revenue should give Orders to the inferior Officers not to receive this Coin.*

Perhaps it will be said, that the King hath a Power to direct what Coin he pleases to be received by the Officers of his Revenue, and that this Patent is in consequence of such a Prerogative. But

it is to be hoped that this Doctrine will never be maintained, in favour of a Coin, to which the whole Nation, as well in Parliament assembled, as in their private Capacities, have shewed a general dislike.

Moreover as this case stands circumstanced it is a great question whether His Majesty hath such a Dispensing Power: For tho' it should be allowed that His Majesty might direct the Receipt of his own Revenue in what Coin he pleases, yet it is most certain, that His Majesty does not intend to inforce the currency of *Wood's Money* among any of His Subjects; much less doth his Majesty intend to oblige those who are intitled by Act of Parliament to be paid in current *Money of England*, to receive this *Money of Mr. Wood's*.

And it is plain, that by the Act of Excise there are several *Fines, Penalties, and Forfeitures*, which by Virtue of that Act are to be received in current *Money of England*, and to half those Fines, Forfeitures, and Penalties, the Informers are entitled by Virtue of the said Act: So that if the Officers should be obliged to receive them in Brass Money, the Informers must necessarily lose the Benefit of the said Act: and I may venture to say, that that Act cannot be repealed but by another Act, to be made by King, Lords and Commons, and not by a Patent.

All these things having been, among many other very weighty matters, laid before both Houses of Parliament of *Ireland*, it is not to be wondered that *they represent, that the Patent had been obtained in a Clandestine and unprecedented manner, and by notorious misrepresentations of the State of Ireland*. For what can be more Clandestine, than to obtain a Patent with Powers, not only *highly prejudicial to his Majesty's Revenue, destructive of the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, and of dangerous consequence to the Properties of the Subject*, but also contrary to several Acts of Parliament. And that it was an unprecedented Attempt, at least in this Reign, will be readily allowed; therefore all the Representations made of the State of *Ireland*, in order to obtain this Patent, may with great truth be called *Notorious Misrepresentations*.

But it has been said that His Majesty cannot proceed against the Patentee but according to the known Rules and *Maxims of Law and Justice*, And God forbid that any one of this Kingdom

should advise His Majesty to Subvert or Dispencc with any of Our Laws. No part of the Addresses from the Houses of Parliament of Ireland has the least Tendency this way.

For tho' the House of Commons in their second Address to His Majesty, *most Humbly beseech his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions to the several Officers intrusted with the Receipt of his Majesty's Revenue, that they do not on any pretence whatsoever utter such Half-pence and Farthings*; Yet if His Majesty had been graciously pleased to have given orders according to this humble Address of his People of Ireland; It is humbly conceived that this would have been only an Affirmance of the Law of the Land, as hath been said, and not any way contrary to Law.

For tho' His Majesty by his Patent under the Great Seal of Great Britain, *Wills, Requires and Commands, His Lieutenant, Deputy, or other chief Governour or Governours of His Kingdom of Ireland, and all other Officers and Ministers of his Majesty, His Heirs and Successors in England, Ireland or elsewhere, to be aiding and Assisting to the said William Wood his Executors, &c. In the Execution of all or any the Powers, Authorities, Directions, Matters or things to be executed by him or them, or for his or their Benefit or advantage, by Virtue, and in Pursuance of the said Indentures*; Yet it is *in all things as becometh &c.* And this is to be expounded by the known Laws of the Land, and by other parts of the said Patent, whereby it is manifest that His Majesty never intended, *to inforce the Currency of this Money, to be received by any person that woud not Voluntarily and Wilfully accept the same.*

Therefore since the People have shewed a general Dislike of this Coin, it is to be hoped that some method will be found out to ease their Minds from the Distraction they are under on this Occasion.

P. 61, l. 20. *This puts me in Mind of a Passage.* Cf. also a similar illustration in the following broadside, published by Harding, which has been attributed to Swift. Reprinted by Scott, *Works* (1814) vii. 163. (See Appendix II, p. 358.)

Another LETTER to Mr. HARDING the Printer, Upon Occasion of the REPORT of the Committee of the LORDS of His MAJESTY's most Honourable Privy-Council, In Rela-

tion to Mr. WOOD's Half Pence and Farthings, &c. lately Publish'd.

Mr. HARDING,

ALTHO' this LETTER also is directed to you, yet you know that it is intended for the Benefit of the Whole Kingdom, and therefore I pray make it Publick, and take Care to disperse it.

The Design of it is only to desire all People to take Notice, That whatever Apprehensions some Persons seem to be under on Account of the above-mentioned REPORT concerning Mr. WOOD's Half-Pence and Farthings, yet the utmost Advice which the Right Honourable COMMITTEE have thought fit to give his MAJESTY, is, That a certain Sum of the said Half-Pence and Farthings may be *Received as Current Money by such as shall be WILLING to receive the same.* And if we are *WILLING* to Ruin Our Selves and Our Country, I think we are not to be Pityed.

Upon this Occasion I would only tell my Country Men a Short Story.

A certain KING of *Great Britain* who spoke broad *Scotch*, and being himself a Man of Wit, loved both to hear and speak Things that were Humourous, had once a Petition preferred to him, in which the *Petitioner*, having set forth his own Merits, most humbly prayed his Majesty to Grant him *Letters Patents* for receiving a Shilling from every one of his Subjects who should be *WILLING* to give so much to him. *In gude Troth*, said the King, *a very reasonable Petition. Let every Man give thee Two Shillings gin he be WILLING so to do, and thou shalt have full Liberty to receive it.* But, says the *Petitioner*, I desire that this Clause may be inserted in my *PATENT*, That every Man who refuses to give me a shilling, should appear at *Westminster Hall* to shew Cause why he so refuses. *This also*, says the King, *shall be Granted thee, but always with this Proviso, that the Man be WILLING to come.*

I am your, &c.

Misoxulos.

P. 62, l. 5. *his own Raps.* See note to p. 4, l. 17.

P. 63, l. 12. *an Eminent Person.* It is generally suggested that Swift is here referring to the legal advice which he obtained from

Mr. Robert Lindsay, who had been appointed on Feb. 15, 1721/2, legal adviser to the Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and on Jan. 13, 1723/4 their seneschal. In a letter to the Earl of Oxford, dated Jan. 6, 1734/5, Swift refers to him as 'an eminent person in the law here, and an intimate friend of mine upon the score of virtue, learning, and superior knowledge in his own profession'. (See *Corr.* v. 122 and *note*.) In 1734 he was a justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, and had attained eminence in his profession.

In this passage the Drapier is of course concerned to explain to his noble readers how he came to be possessed of so much information; and many of them, who were doubtless not ignorant of the real identity of the Drapier, would—I am inclined to believe—be more likely to think of Swift's eminent collaborator as Archbishop King, who, as a member of the Privy Council as well as of the House of Lords, was well able to provide all the 'information' Swift needed. To an observer like Lord Midleton, at any rate, it appeared that Swift has the constant support of his 'patron' the Archbishop throughout the campaign. (See letter from Lord Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, Nov. 17, 1724, quoted in *note* to p. 123, l. 1.)

l. 21. *For Goliah had a Helmet of Brass.* 1 Sam. xvii. 5-6, 9-10.

P. 64, l. 1. *Order a Declaration to be drawn up.* On Sept. 8, 1724, three days after the publication of this letter, another Petition was addressed to the King by the Lord-Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, in Common Council Assembled. (See *Dublin Gazette*, Sept. 19, 1724.) All the Dublin papers for this month are full of declarations drawn up by the citizens of towns in various parts of the country, e.g. Drogheda, Athenree, Galway, Sligo, Youghal, Wexford, Londonderry, Enniscorthy. Swift himself signed the following declaration of the County of Dublin, which was drawn up on Sept. 3, and afterwards 'lodged in the hands of Mr John Murphy in Christ Church lane, where the Gentlemen and freeholders of the said County are desired to repair to sign the same without loss of time'. It was printed, with 172 signatures, in the *Dublin Gazette*, Oct. 14, 1724:

'At a General Session of the Peace, *Oyer and Terminer*, and General Gaol Delivery, held in and for the County of *Dublin*, at *Kilmainham*, by Adjournment the Third Day of *September*, 1724.

Whereas it appear'd (upon the most Solemn Examination) to the Lords and Commons of this Kingdom in Parliament assembled; that *William Wood* by Notorious misrepresentations of the state of Ireland, hath in a Clandestine and unprecedented manner obtained his Majesties Letters patent, for Coining Copper tokens to be Uttered in this Kingdom, and not elsewhere) as Halfpence and Farthings, to such Persons as are willing to receive the same.

AND Whereas by several Acts of Parliament passed in this Kingdom, the subsidies of Tonnage, and Poundage, the Excise or new Impost, Licence Money, Hearth Money, and additional Duties, and all Fines, Penalties and Forfeitures incurr'd by breach of the said Acts are required to be paid in Current and Lawful Money or Moneys of *England*, and by particular clauses in several Patents all Quit-rents, Crown rents, and Composition-rents are to be paid in Sterling Money, and likewise all Postage of Letters (by an English Act of Parliament) is to be paid in this Kingdom in Current and Lawful Money of *Great-Britain*, all which must necessarily render the receiving or Uttering the said Copper Tokens as Current Money destructive of the Trade and Commerce of this Kingdom on which his Majesties Revenue in a great Measure depends and of dangerous Consequence to the properties of the Subject.

WE Therefore the High-Sherriff, Justices of the *Peace*, Grand Jury, Nobility, Clergy, Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of *Dublin*, do hereby unanimously resolve and declare that we will not on any pretence whatsoever receive or utter any of the Copper Tokens or Halfpence and Farthings, already Coined, or which shall hereafter be Coined by the said *William Wood*, by vertue of the said Patent, except the same shall be first made Current and Lawful Money, of and in *England*.'

172 Signatures follow.

1. 10. *next Quarter Sessions*. This suggestion was also followed in due course. This, for example, is the declaration drawn up at the Quarter Sessions in the county of Meath:

DUBLIN, October 10.

'The High-Sheriff, Justices of Peace, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Free-Holders, and other Inhabitants of the County of Meath, at a General Quarter-Sessions of the Peace, held for that County on the eight Day of October 1724, made the following Declaration, viz.

We the High-Sheriff, Justices of Peace, Grand-Jury, Free-Holders, and Inhabitants of the County of Meath, do hereby unanimously Declare, that we will not Receive or Utter on any Account whatsoever, any of the Copper Tokens coined by William Wood, Esq; conceiving that the Uttering thereof will be Highly prejudicial to his Majesty's Revenue, Destructive of Trade and Commerce, of Dangerous Consequence to the Properties of the Subject, and ruin of this Loyal Kingdom.'

(*Dublin Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1724.)

LETTER IV

P. 67, l. 26. *Wood prescribes to the News-Mongers in London.* Cf. the following newspaper comment, dated Dublin Sept. 28: 'We hear from London by these last Packets, that they lately had Advices from this City, which say, that the Demurrers against Wood's Coin were mostly Papists, which we doubt not, was done by the Contrivance of some of his wicked Emmissaries planted here; who strive as much as possible, by their Aspersions to ruin the Protestants of this Kingdom, by casting an Odium upon them, and enrich themselves.' (*Dublin Intelligence*, Tuesday, Sept. 29, 1724.)

P. 68, l. 15. *a Paragraph in another News-Paper.* This had just appeared in Harding's paper: 'From the London Prints and Manuscripts, Dated Sept. 26. We hear that his Excellency the Lord Cartaret, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, goes for Dublin Monday come Fortnight to Settle Wood's Half-pence.' (*Dublin Impartial News Letter*, Saturday, Oct. 3, 1724.) The Dublin newspapers for Oct. 6 and 7 report that Carteret had fixed the 12th Instant for his departure from London, and print complimentary verses on *Lord Carteret's Character*. The *Dublin*

Intelligence added significantly, but without comment, the following: 'Dublin: Oct. the 6th, it is Courantly Reported, that there is a Ship in the Bay of Dublin, with 50. Tun of Wood's Coin.'

It is interesting to note from this that Swift evidently began to write the *Fourth Letter* on Oct. 3rd, finishing it on the 13th, in time to get it printed and ready to appear the very day of Carteret's arrival.

P. 69, l. 17. *sending Base Money hither*. See p. 13, ll. 8-26.

l. 25. *the Opinion of the great Lord Bacon*. Like other editors I have failed to find this sentence in Bacon. (Cf. *Works*, v. 103 n.) But the parallel between the laws of nature and the laws of government is a favourite idea of his: e.g. 'For there is a great affinity and consent between the rules of nature, and the true rules of policy: the one being nothing else but an order in the government of the world; and the other an order in the government of an estate.' (*A Brief Discourse of the Happy Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland dedicated in private to His Majesty. Works*, London 1841, i. 448.) Cf. also 'thou never workest miracles, but to a divine and excellent end, for the laws of nature are thine own laws, and thou exceedest them not but upon great cause, . . .' (*New Atlantis*, *Ibid.*, i. 205.) But in matters of money Bacon's view of the King's prerogative is quite unlike Swift's: e.g. '*The King's prerogative in matters of money* 1. The king may alter his standard in baseness or fineness. . . 3. The king may at his pleasure alter the valuations, and raise and fall moneys. 4. The king may by proclamation make moneys of his own current or not.' (*A Preparation toward the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland. Ibid.*, i. 646.)

P. 70, l. 5. *that inviolable Loyalty*. Cf. Swift's sermon *On Doing Good*: 'I verily believe, that, since the beginning of the world, no nation upon earth ever shewed (all circumstances considered) such high constant marks of loyalty in all their actions and behaviour, as we have done:' (*Works*, iv. 183.)

ll. 11-18. This is the first passage marked by Carteret as particularly offensive in the copy of this letter which he enclosed in his dispatch to Walpole, dated Oct. 28, 1724. (*S.P.* 63, vol. 384.) See *Introd.*, p. xlv.

l. 30. *REPORT . . . former Letter.* See *Letter III* and note to p. 35, l. 8.

P. 71, l. 8. *I have shewn it at large.* See *Letter III*, pp. 39, 43, 53. This whole paragraph also marked by Carteret.

P. 72, l. 3. *Prorogued to I know not when.* 'The Parliament being prorogued to *Saturday*, the 7th Day of *March*, 1723, was by several subsequent Proclamations, further prorogued to *Tuesday* the 7th Day of *September*, 1725, then to sit for the Dispatch of Business.' (*Commons' Journals*, iii. 392.) If Carteret had ever intended to summon a parliament soon after his arrival in Dublin, he evidently decided that in the excited state of public opinion it would be dangerous to do so. It did not meet until almost a year later, and then he was able to report in the opening speech that an entire end had been put to the Patent.

P. 73, ll. 4 ff. *I am sure their Opinion of Wood.* This and the following three paragraphs also marked by Carteret. See note above.

l. 15. *All considerable Offices for Life here.* Cf. 'Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.' (*A Short View of the State of Ireland, Works*, vii. 87.)

As followers of the chief governors Swift mentions Dodington, Addison, and Hopkins. There is some confusion in the reference to the notorious George Bubb, who seems merely to have inherited, together with his name and estates, an interest from his uncle George Dodington (d. 1720) who was secretary both to the Earl of Pembroke and the Duke of Wharton during their lord-lieutenancies. Swift did not like either Dodington or Bubb; he wrote bitterly of the former in a letter to King, dated Aug. 28, 1708, as 'one who would not give threepence to save all the established clergy in both kingdoms from the gallows'; and though later he tried to make use of the latter's interest on Pope's behalf, he had no good opinion of him, in spite of his attempt to pose as a friend of Ireland by wearing Irish clothes. He succeeded to the office of Clerk of the Pells at a salary of £2,500 a year, on the death of Lord Newtown, March 11, 1723. (See *Corr.* iv. 116; v. 52.)

Of the special arrangements made for Addison, Tickell says in his Preface (1721): 'His next step in his fortune, was to the post of Secretary under the late Marquess of *Wharton*, who was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland* in the year 1709. . . . It must not be omitted here that the salary of Keeper of the Records in *Ireland* was considerably raised, and that post bestowed upon him, at this time, as a mark of the Queen's favour.' (*Works*, ed. Guthkelch, London, 1914, vol. i, p. xviii.) Swift seems to be underestimating the value of the records for the purpose of his argument here. Dr. Ball suggests indeed that Addison was negligent of his duties. 'Until an adequate salary had been secured for him the importance of those duties was justly urged, but from the day the salary was granted, until his resignation two days before his death, no attention, or even thought, appears to have been given by Addison to the care of documents which, to use his own words, were of the greatest consequence to the public.' (*Corr.* i. 188, n. 3.)

The Duke of Grafton's secretary, Mr. Hopkins, had recently been made Master of the Revels for life, with an increase in the salary of £300 a year, to be produced wholly or in part from the players. Sir Walter Scott refers in a note to two satirical poems written on this subject—the *Prologue* and *Epilogue to Mr Hoppy's Benefit Night at Smock-Alley*. (*Aldine*, i. 156-61.)

As examples of persons who had interest at the court Swift mentions the following: Lord Berkeley of Stratton, who had been made Master of the Rolls in June 1696 for life. His wife was the daughter of Sir John Temple, who had held the office until 1677, when he was succeeded by his son Sir William, who held it until May 1696. The Temple family had benefited a good deal at the expense of Ireland, and Swift probably derived some satisfaction from singling them out here. Henry Temple, the son of Sir John—later the Viscount Palmerston referred to here—is, as Dr. Ball says, 'remarkable as having been appointed Chief Remembrancer of Ireland before he had left the nursery'. (*Corr.* i. 57 n.)

With the Hon. Edward Southwell Swift had been constantly in touch in 1708-10 when he was in London in connexion with the business of the First Fruits. (See *Corr.* i. 86-7, 215, &c.) The office of Secretary of State was a sinecure, which had been

held by his father, Sir Robert, to whom Swift had been recommended as a secretary by Sir W. Temple in 1690. (See *Corr.* i. 1-3.) In June 1720 the salary had been increased by £300, and in July was granted to the Hon. Edward Southwell and his son for life. At this moment he was very unpopular, because of his connexion with the report of Sir Isaac Newton's assay of Wood's coin. (See letter from Archbishop King to Southwell, dated Sept. 10, 1724, *St. Patrick's*, p. lxxxix.)

P. 74, l. 17. *what a Jolly Crew it would bring over.* See note to p. 27, l. 35.

l. 24. *Eat Brass as Ostriches do Iron.* Cf. Sir Thomas Browne, *Vulgar Errors*, Bk. III, ch. 22: 'The common opinion of the *Ostrich*, *Struthiocamelus* or *Sparrow-Camel* conceives that it digesteth Iron; and this is confirmed by the affirmations of many; besides swarms of others, *Rhodiginus* in his prelections taketh it for granted, *Johannes Langius* in his Epistles pleadeth experiment for it; the common picture also confirmeth it, which usually describeth this Animal with an Horseshoe in its mouth. Notwithstanding upon enquiry we find it very questionable, and the negative seems most reasonably entertained; whose verity indeed we do the rather desire, because hereby we shall relieve our ignorance of one occult quality; for in the list thereof it is accounted, and in that notion imperiously obtruded upon us. For my part, although I have had the sight of this Animal, I have not had the opportunity of its experiment, but have received great occasion of doubt, from learned discourses thereon.' (*Works*, 1686, p. 129.)

P. 75, l. 7. *at above Eighty per Cent. Discount.* See note to p. 15, l. 25.

l. 20. *Lord Carteret.* Sir Walter Scott notes that 'Lord Carteret, as an opponent of Walpole, and an ally of Bolingbroke, was in some respects a favourite of the Dean'. It will be remembered that compliments were later exchanged between Carteret and Swift, and in particular Swift's *Vindication of his Excellency the Lord Carteret*, 1730, which provides an adequate account of his lordship's descent, education and character. (See *Works*, vii. 225 f. and Introd. p. lix.) A comment of Swift's in a letter to Gay, dated Nov. 1730, may be added here: 'I

believe my Lord Carteret, since he is no longer Lieutenant, may not wish me ill, and I have told him often that I only hated him as Lieutenant. I confess he had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of this kingdom, than most of his predecessors, and I confess, at the same time, that he had, six times, a regard to my recommendation, by preferring so many of my friends in the Church. . . .’ (*Corr.* iv. 179.)

1. 34. *there have been Governours of so much Dexterity.* It is probable that Swift had in mind particularly that former Lord Lieutenant of Ireland whose character he had drawn so virulently in 1711—*Thomas Earl of Wharton*, e.g. ‘In his commerce with mankind, his general rule is to endeavour imposing on their understandings, for which he has but one receipt, a composition of lies and oaths; and this he applies indifferently to a freeholder of forty shillings, and a privy-councillor, by which the easy and the honest are often either deceived or amused; and either way he gains his point. He will openly take away your employment today, because you are not of his party; tomorrow he will meet or send for you, as if nothing at all had passed, lay his hands with much friendliness on your shoulders, and with the greatest ease and familiarity in the world, tell you that the faction are driving at something in the House; that you must be sure to attend, and to speak to all your friends to be there, though he knows at the same time that you and your friends are against him in that very point he mentions: And however absurd, ridiculous, and gross, this may appear, he has often found it successful; . . .’ (*Works*, v. 9.)

Swift’s exposure of such methods however did not prevent even such a Lord Lieutenant as Lord Carteret from making every possible effort to get the patent accepted. See a letter from Lord Middleton to Thomas Brodrick, dated from Dublin, March 15, 1724/5: ‘I think I can have noe doubt of the bearer’s delivering this into your hands, and will therefore speak plainer English then otherwise I would venture to doe: yet not so plain that every one else shall know my meaning as fully as you will. This you may depend upon, that the person who told you in soe solemn a manner, that all people would be left at their own liberty, &c. thought it either necessary or convenient for him to use every way he

could think of, that nobody should make use of that liberty to which they were to be left: no caresses were wanting to soften those who were supposed capable to be made pliant, nor was there any difficulty made of letting people know what was hoped (if not expected) from those who had dependancies, and what the consequences of being refractory might (nay would certainly) prove. Those who were against warm methods at the beginning were not in so good grace as those who either advised or were concerned in putting them in execution. To be short, I cannot but think that a certain person knew (Carteret) had the success of Wood's coyne soe much at heart, that he was persuaded to undertake the business, as the man in the world most likely to effect it, and to deliver some people in London from the difficulties they have laboured under by means of this patent; and I confesse it is my thought, that more zeal and industry could not have been used to attain this end, then was employed, if the success of it were to be attended with an entire restitution of the same favour and employment which he formerly enjoyed.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 413-14.)

P. 77, l. 20. *lately made Primate*. Dr. Hugh Boulter, appointed Archbishop of Armagh, Aug. 31, 1724. He arrived in Dublin in November 1724, and completely justified Walpole's confidence in him, as a faithful and devoted supporter of the English interest, and in particular of the Whig administration. As a member of the House of Lords and of the Privy Council he was able to exercise a steady influence, and confidentially advise the government in the making of all important appointments. In such a matter as Wood's patent it was probably his opinion rather than the reports of Carteret that finally convinced Walpole of the necessity of putting an end to it altogether. (See Boulter, *Letters*, 1770, pp. 10, 29, &c.)

P. 78, l. 17. *Ireland is a Depending Kingdom*. Sir Walter Scott notes: 'This passage contains the pith and essence of the whole controversy. It was one of those selected for prosecution by the Government.' This and the following paragraph are marked in Carteret's copy. Swift is of course repeating here the arguments of Molyneux, which had been condemned in England and immediately answered by a statute affirming the

dependency of Ireland in the most emphatic terms. (See *Introd.*, pp. ix-x.)

P. 79, l. 6. *desire to be excepted*. Swift explains his phrase in his defence of this paragraph in *Letter V*, p. 105. Both there and in *Letter VI* (see p. 132) he plays very neatly with this, the most delicate and dangerous part of his argument, by exposing the dilemma he finds himself placed in, if he were to admit that he had gone too far in these protestations of loyalty. (Cf. Craik, *Life of Swift*, 1882, p. 354 n.)

l. 13. *my Country-men did against Theirs at Preston*. In 1715 troops from Ireland were sent over to the support of the Duke of Argyle in Scotland against the Pretender; and others fought under General Carpenter against the rebels at Preston. (See Robert Patten, *History of the Rebellion in 1715*, 4th ed., 1745, pp. 9, 25, 55, 90, 211.)

l. 21. *Power of binding this Kingdom*. Sir Walter Scott notes: 'Particularly in the reign of William III. when this doctrine of English supremacy was assumed, in order to discredit the authority of the Irish Parliament summoned by James II.' See also *note* to p. 51, l. 23.

l. 24. *the Famous Mr. Molineaux*. Sir Walter Scott notes: 'William Molineux, a philosopher, a scholar, and patriot, the friend of Locke. When this gentleman conceived that the woollen manufactory of Ireland was in danger of ruin, from the oppressive regulations adopted by the English government, he asserted the independence of his country, in a Tract, entitled, "The Case of Ireland's being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated." It was published in 1698.'

P. 80, l. 4. *it hath been given about for several Days past*. This paragraph—also marked in Carteret's copy—evidently refers to the following newspaper report: 'Dublin, Sep. 30. By a Private Letter to a Person of Distinction, we have Advice from London, that his most Sacred Majesty taking into his Royal Consideration, the Humble Address of his Loyal Subjects the PEOPLE of this City, declared (notwithstanding the many Pleas of Wood, against what had been urg'd to hinder his proceedings,) That he would grant their Desire, and not force any of his Subjects to take Wood's Coin against their Will.'

'Tis said the Honourable Mr Secretary Walpole made an excellent Speech to his Majesty, to hinder the Currancy of Mr. Wood's Coin in this Kingdom, the Particulars of which are not yet come to our Hands.' (*Needham's Post-man*, Sept. 30, 1724.)

P. 81, l. 3. *a Pamphlet sent me of near 50 Pages. This was entitled Some farther Account Of The Original Disputes In Ireland, About Farthings and Halfpence. In A Discourse With A Quaker of Dublin . . .* (see Appendix II, p. 364). The argument moves very slowly, as the Quaker refuses to be hurried in his discourse. Swift gathers up his points shortly and not unfairly, as shown by comparison with the following passages referred to:

P. 8. '*On the contrary, the People, as they extreamly wanted them, so they universally approv'd of them: I assure thee, I have not heard of one Gainsayer, or that offer'd to make the least Complaint against them, 'till they had been current, and past as Current-money among us, for several Months.*'

P. 9. 'This, I say, is the Debate, and may be stated thus, *viz.* Whether the Coinage of *Copper-Money, being very profitable in itself*, shou'd continue to the said *William Wood*, to whom the King had granted it, or whether it wou'd not be much better to set him aside, and get it for *our selves. . .*'

I begin to understand you, Friend, *says I*, and if I am right, you would have us believe, that there was an original Design, or Conspiracy, among a Sett of Persons in *Ireland; in short*, to supplant Mr. *Wood*, get his Patent set aside, and afterward to get a Grant of it for themselves.

Pp. 11-12. 'this general Approbation of the People continued a great-while, and that even when Complaints began to be heard, they had not their Beginning among the trading Part of the Nation: Nay, *he told me, and bid me remark it*, that some of those very Persons, who afterwards appear'd to be concern'd most violently against the Copper-Farthings, &c. were for some time the most forward to approve of them, and applaud the Advantage, which accrued to the Publick by them, . . . but 'tis enough to say, *First*, That those very men did some time after raise Clamours, and bring evil Accusations against the Grant for *Farthings* and

Half-pence, against the Coin itself, and against *thy* Friend, *William Wood*, the Patentee, to whom the Privilege is granted. And, *Secondly*, That some Persons have propos'd to get a Grant to themselves, and set up such another Coinage on their own Account, as soon as this can be set aside.'

- P. 13. 'then he gave himself some *loose* at the Injustice and Unfairness of this Proceeding; how they abus'd the People, in laying the Complaint in their Names, who, *as he said*, he was well inform'd, never complain'd at all, or had any Inclination to do so: Not the Privy-Council, *he said*, not the Lord Lieutenant, not the Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, or of any other City, had ever any Petitions, or Representations, against the *Farthings*, and *Halfpence*; no Grand-Jury ever presented them; no Merchants; *in a Word*, *he added*, that no Man, or Society of Men, open'd their Mouths against them; nay, *adds he*, I may say, not a Dog wagg'd his Tongue against them, 'till this Fire burst out, as from a secret Mine (like a Powder-Plot) to blow up both *Patent* and *Patentee*, in order to set up another in its Room.'
- P. 14. 'Thus, *he said*, the first Prejudices began in Avarice and private Interest, among a Sett of Men, who form'd their Design wholly and solely upon the View of their own Advantages.'
- P. 18. 'Then he told me, how their Emissaries ran up and down, exclaiming against the Injustice of putting a Coinage upon them from *England*; that it was an Invasion of the Liberties of the People; that it was a Monopoly, and a Piece of Arbitrary Power; nay, some went farther, and reflected upon the Grant itself, and consequently upon the Person granting it; and that it was a dangerous Precedent at best, that the King had been impos'd upon by *William Wood*, and *his Accomplices*; and had had the State of Affairs in *Ireland* very much misrepresented to him, insinuating, *he said*, that the King had granted this *Patent*, without the Advice of his Council, or without being duly inform'd of the State of Things in *Ireland*.
- This was a sure Card, *he said*, to bring all the Papists,

and Enemies to the Government, into the Party, and to make them universally Enemies to the *Copper-Coinage*, they being known to be forward, and glad of an Opportunity to close with any-thing, which they think will make a Clamour at the *English Government*, or the present Administration under the Reign of King *GEORGE*.

This was a wicked, but a very politick Step, *he said*, for then (and not till then) the Complaint at the *English Farthings* and *Halfpence* began to be loud, and make a Noise; and that Noise to be propagated in the remotest Parts of the Country; and thus, *added he*, Friend *Wood* suffers in good Company, for the Clamour at the *Farthings* and *Halfpence* became really a Clamour at the Government.'

Pp. 36-8. 'First, *he said*, he laid it down as a Foundation, that *Friend Wood*, so *he call'd the Patentee*, shou'd sell his *Farthings* and *Halfpence* for Manufactures either of Wool or Flax, as he told me he had offer'd to do for some Part of them. . . .

Now, *says he*, for Example, if a Pound of Wool, costing 3*d.* by various Improvements, arrives to the Value of 5*s.* in Manufactures (as it is manifest in some Manufactures, it will double that Value,) and if then *thy Friend Wood* gives two Pound of *Copper Halfpence*, value 5*s.* for this two Pound of Wool manufactur'd, tho' this two Pound of *Halfpence* be immediately melted, and reduc'd into *Copper Metal*, and sold for 14*d. per Pound*, which is 2*s. 4d.* the publick Stock of the Kingdom of *Ireland* gains two Shillings and one Penny by the Exchange.

I confess I was confounded at this Computation, and at first did not readily apprehend it, wherefore *I ask'd him*, what came of the almost numberless Families of Handicrafts, Labourers and Manufacturers employ'd in bringing the Manufacture so wrought from the Fleece to the Merchandize.

Become of them? *said he*, they are all paid by one-another; what they earn, they spend; it circulates from one to another; they gain by Work, they eat, and lose it again, and still 'tis within ourselves; the publick Stock neither encreases

or decreases by that; but the *Copper* which *thy* Friend brings in, leaves 2s. 1d. of solid unconsumable Metal in Specie in the Kingdom, more than the 3d. which it carried away.'

- P. 39. 'If the Profit to the publick Stock be thus great, under the unnecessary Supposition of a Reduction of the *Copper Coin* to its meer first Principles, what an immense Gain to the publick Stock of *Ireland* must it be, if this Coin remains current; for tho' it is true, simply consider'd, that it is of no more Value than the 2s. 1d. to which it may be reduc'd, yet it is really a Loan to the Kingdom of *Ireland* of 2s. 11d. more, in every 5s. current Cash, which Loan it supplies the Nation with, for the convenience of its Commerce, without any Interest; and if there shou'd be the Value of 200,000*l.* in Farthings thus made current for any Number of Years, the Advantage of this in Trade is scarce to be computed, seeing it is capable (always suggesting it to be laid-out in Manufactures) of keeping the Poor of the whole Kingdom employ'd and consuming the Product in a foreign Nation.

And this is the Foundation, *added he*, on which, *I said before, and say it now*, let *Ireland* pay Interest for this Loan, to the *Patentee*, but at 3 per Cent. the *Patentee* may oblige himself, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, at any time after thirty Years, to call these *Farthings* and *Halfpence* all in, and pay for them at the full Rate as *Farthings* and *Halfpence*; or let them be melted down in *Ireland*, and Pay the Difference.'

P. 81, l. 24. *a Sort of Savage Irish*. Cf. a note by Craik: 'That this was not a mere exaggeration of the Englishman's belief, is shown by the following passage from Burdy's Life of (Rev. Philip) Skelton (*Works*, i. lxiii). "When he was in London, there was a man from the parish of Derriaghy, he assured us, that passed there for a wild Irishman, and was exhibited as a public show, dressed up with a false beard, artificial wings, and the like. Hundreds from all parts flocked to see a strange spectacle, which they had often heard of before: and among others, a Derriaghy man, who happened to be in London, came in the crowd, and saw the wild Irishman, a hideous figure, with

a chain about him, cutting his capers before a gaping multitude. Yet notwithstanding his disguise, he soon discovered that this wild Irishman was a neighbour's son, a sober civilised young man, who had left Derriaghy a little before him. When the show was finished, he went behind the scene, and cried out so as to be heard by his countryman, 'Derriaghy, Derriaghy'. Upon this the seeming wild Irishman, staring with surprise, spoke aloud, 'I'll go any place for Derriaghy'. They had then a private meeting when he told him, that being destitute of money, he took that method of gulling the English, and succeeded far beyond his expectations." (*Life of Swift*, p. 358 n.)

P. 82, l. 27 *Papists and Enemies to King George*. See note to p. 67, l. 26.

P. 83, l. 30. *Coleby*. See note to p. 37, l. 6.

P. 84, l. 12. *Dutch Reckoning*. Cf. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (1700) 'Dutch reckoning, or *Alte-mall*, a verbal or Lump-account without particulars'. (See *N.E.D.* 'Dutch', 24.)

P. 85, l. 4. *A short Paper Printed at Bristol*. This was entitled *A Short Defence of The People of Ireland, Occasion'd by the View Of A Letter from Mr Wood, To one of the Managers Of His Copper Halfpence in Bristol* (see Appendix II, p. 367). The passage Swift refers to is as follows: 'For in a Letter, which I have very lately seen, to one of his Agents here, he says, (I think I remember right) That he is surpriz'd at the Impudence, and Insolence, of the *Irish*, for which they shall dearly pay, for that Mr *Walpole* would be soon in town, at whose Arrival he did not doubt, but there would be such Measures taken, as should make his Money pass.' (p. 3.)

l. 9. *True English People of Ireland*. In a letter to the Earl of Peterborough, dated April 28, 1726, mentioning some few grievances of Ireland, Swift states exactly what he means by this phrase: 'First, that all persons born in Ireland are called and treated as Irishmen, although their fathers and grandfathers were born in England; and their predecessors having been conquerors of Ireland, it is humbly conceived they ought to be on as good a foot as any subjects of Britain, according to the practice of all other nations, and particularly of the Greeks and Romans.' (*Corr.* iii. 309.)

l. 15. *News Letter but of Yesterday*. See Intro., p. xxxvi, and cf. also *The Flying Post*, Oct. 12, 1724:

'Dublin Octob. 12. We have an account that a certain Nobleman of England, my L—— W——e who was the chief in gaining Woods his Patent hearing of the joynt Declarations of the people of Ireland against the brass Coin, has sworn that since he gain'd the Patent, if the people of Ireland still persist in their refusal of the brass Coin, he would make them swallow it in Fireballs.

'Tis publickly Talk'd in this City That there is a ship come into this Harbour: which has brought over 50 Ton of Wood's Brass Half pence and that she is to lie at Bullock till his Grace the Lord Lieutenant comes over, who they say, must do his Endeavour to pass them; but these 'tis believ'd, are only flying Reports.'

P. 86, l. 24. *Fifty thousand Operators*. Cf. letter from Lord Midleton to Thomas Brodrick, dated Oct. 31, 1724: 'Ireland is represented as in a state of slavery, and treated as slaves by England; nay, when he mentions 50,000 operators as a necessary number to distribute his fire-balls, I doubt he means something which he dar'd not name, and insinuates as if we were to be born down with main force.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 397.)

P. 87, l. 11. *Remote from Thunder as we are from Jupiter*. Cf. the lines *On Wood the Ironmonger*, where he is compared to Salmoneus, who tried 'to ape the thunder of the skies', especially this passage:

They laugh'd at such an Irish blunder,
To take the noise of brass for thunder.

The moral of this tale is proper,
Applied to Wood's adulterate copper:
Which, as he scatter'd, we, like dolts,
Mistook at first for thunderbolts, . . .

(*Aldine*, iii. 107.)

I am indebted to Professor Edward Bensley for kindly sending me the following note on *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine*:

'In Erasmus's *Adagia* "*Procul a Jove atque fulmine*" is given as the translation of *Πόρρω Διὸς τε καὶ κεραυνοῦ*. (See W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, 3rd ed. by J. E.

Benseler, Pt. I, p. 442, col. 1, under Zeus.) Erasmus says that this is in Diogenianus, and that Ovid alluded to this proverb in

Vive tibi, quantumque potes, praelustria vita:
Saeuum praelustri fulmen ab arce venit.

[*Tristia*, III. iv. 5, 6.]

(see *Adagia*, 1643, p. 631, col. 2).

Andrew Schott in his *Adagia sive Proverbia Graecorum ex Zenobio seu Zenodoto Diogeniano & Suidae Collectaneis*, Antwerp 1612, pp. 517–18, has the saying among his “Proverbia e Suida” xii. 4 and quotes the passage of Synesius, which Suidas gives. Schott asserts that Erasmus was guilty of a *μνημονικὸν σφάλμα* in substituting the name *Diogenianus* for *Suidas*, but according to Benseler the proverb is found in both writers.

W. Binder in his *Novus Thesaurus Adagiorum Latinorum* (a poor book), Stuttgart 1861, quotes the saying in the *Procul a Jove, procul a fulmine* form from “Germanicorum Adagiorum cum Latinis ac Graecis collatorum centuriac VII Eberhardi Tappii” fol. 132 verso. This last book was published, he says, in 1539. If Binder is correct in his statement, the Latin version with the repeated *procul* goes back a good way.’

SEASONABLE ADVICE

P. 89, l. 2. *Since a Bill is preparing for the Grand-Jury.* For an account of the circumstances under which this was written see Introd. pp. xlviii ff.

P. 90, l. 3. *Wicked, Malicious, Seditious.* A phrase from the Proclamation, of which the full text follows (P.R.O.; Goldsmiths etc.):

By The Lord Lieutenant and Council Of IRELAND, A
PROCLAMATION.

CARTERET.

WHEREAS a Wicked and Malicious Pamphlet, Intituled, *A Letter to the whole People of Ireland, by M. B. Drapier, Author of the Letter to the Shopkeepers, &c.* Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court in Fishamble-street, Dublin, in which are contained several Seditious and Scandalous Paragraphs highly Reflecting upon His Majesty and His Ministers, tending to Alienate the Affections of His Good Subjects of England and

Ireland from each other, and to promote Sedition among the People, hath been lately Printed and Published in this Kingdom.

WE the Lord Lieutenant and Council do hereby Publish and Declare, That in Order to Discover the Author of the said Seditious Pamphlet, We will give the necessary Orders for the Payment of Three Hundred Pounds *Sterling* to such Person or Persons as shall within the Space of Six Months from the Date hereof Discover the Author of the said Pamphlet, so as he be Apprehended and Convicted thereof.

Given at the *Council-Chamber* in *Dublin* this Twenty Seventh Day of *October*, 1724.

Middleton Canc. Shannon, Doneraile, G. Forbes, H. Meath, Santry, Tyrawly, Ferrard, Wm. Conolly, Ralph Gore, Wm. Whitshed, B. Hale, Gust. Hume, Ben. Parry, James Tynte, R. Tighe, T. Clutterbuck.

God Save the King.

l. 6. *the two Points*. The two paragraphs were of course among those marked by Carteret as particularly dangerous. See *Letter IV*, pp. 71 and 78-9.

l. 27. *a Law made in Ireland*. Quoted in *Letter IV*, p. 78, ll. 28-30. Swift of course ignores the recent statute passed in England expressly to secure the dependency of Ireland, see *Intro.*, p. x.

P. 91, l. 14. *The fifth thing to be considered*. It was on account of this paragraph containing a sufficiently direct attack upon himself that Whitshed almost succeeded in persuading the Grand Jury to bring in a bill against the author of *Seasonable Advice*. As Faulkner's account of the proceedings leading up to the discharge of the Grand Jury is misleading and has been adopted by other editors, it may be better to quote here in full the evidence on which my account, given in the Introduction (pp. xlviii-lii), is based.

(1) Extracts from letters of Lord Carteret to the Duke of Newcastle, during November, 1724: *S.P.* 63, vol. 384.

Nov. 8th. Harding had been taken on Nov. 7th.

The author's design of owning himself seems to be laid aside.

The anxiety of some persons that the Grand Jury would not find the Bill against Harding.

Nov. 14th. 'The Printer is spirited up to stand the prosecution and hitherto persists in concealing the Author.'

In a P.S. he adds: 'Since the writing this letter the inclosed scandalous paper has been brought to me which has been dispersed throughout the Town.'

Enclosure—2 copies of *Seasonable Advice*, dated Nov. 11th, and evidently distributed through the post by Nov. 14th.

Nov. 22nd. He sent a copy of *Seasonable Advice* to the Attorney and Solicitor General, directing them to complain of it in the Council of the King's Bench, that the Grand Jury might have an opportunity of making a presentment of so insolent a Libel. This was done on Nov. 21st, but in spite of the efforts of the Attorney and Solicitor General, supported by the three Judges of the King's Bench, especially the Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, the Jury refused to make the presentment. Whereupon the Lord Chief Justice thought it proper to discharge this Grand Jury, and to order a new one.

Nov. 24th. The new Grand Jury was returned on Nov. 23rd and Whitshed addressed them enlarging upon the absurdity of the notion of Independency, but finding no probability of inducing the Jury to make a presentment of the Libel, he did not think it proper to attempt it at that time.

Proceedings against other seditious libels also not brought before the Jury though several indictments already drawn.

Nov. 28th. On the last day of the Law Term, when the Grand Jury was told by the Court that they had now an opportunity of doing their Country the justice the former Grand Jury refused to do, one of them answered, after consulting with the rest, that they had spent two days in drawing up that paper, and were now of opinion, that nothing could be added to it. But there is great reason to believe that the paper came from a hand that has been employed before now with too much success in disturbing the peace of this Kingdom. The presentment is just printed and herein inclosed.

(2) An extract from a letter of Dr. Coghill, who had been present in the Court, to the Hon. Edward Southwell:

Dublin Nov. 24th 1724

... since the issuing the Proclamation Hardin the Printer has bin taken, but no evidence can be gott against him, so that he is in no danger of any prosecution, but however to prevent any presentment of the book by the Grandjury of this citty, or their finding any bill of Indictment, in case prooffe could have bin gott against the Printer, the enclosed was sent about in letters sealed up to most of the citizens & gentlemen in town, on Saturday last by order of my Ld Lieut. the Attorney and Solr. Genll. went to the Court of Kings Bench, & desir'd the Grandjury to be called into court, had the paper read before them, & with decency & temper perform'd their duty, after they had done, the three Judges harangued the Jury, & press'd them with great earnestnesse to present the paper as seditious, the Jury after some deliberation would not present it, my Ld. C. Justice sent them back again, asked them if they did not think the fifth paragraph false & malicious, & therefore it was not consistent with their oaths to deny presenting such a false paragraph, which so grossly reflected on persons in so high stations under his Majesty, the Jury return'd again, & refused to comply with the court, my Ld. C. Justice ordered them to be called by their names respectively, beginning with the youngest, he ask'd him his reasons why he did not present the paper as the court expected, his answer was, that he thought he had done his duty, & discharg'd his oath & his conscience honestly & Justly, others of them said they thought the presenting that paper might be a step towards bringing in the half pence amongst us, others of them said they thought the fifth paragraph was lyable to censure, & that they were willing to present that, but their brethren would not come into it, my Ld. C. Justice order'd them to return & consider of it again but the foreman told him, it was to no purpose, for they would not alter their opinion, whereupon my Ld. C. Justice expostulated the matter with them (with great warmth—*erased*) & discharged that Jury, & ordered the Sheriffs to summon another, which was accordingly done, & the enclosed paper was published yesterday morning before the Court satt, the charge now given to the new Grandjury, & the three things principally insisted on by my Ld. C. Justice were first the crime of embraceing Juries by words or writeing, of endeavouring to create animosities between the

people of England & Ireland, & of reflecting on the Kings Ministers or any persons in high stations or trusts under him, and directed them if any such books or pamphlets had bin published to present them; but mention'd none of the books particularly, . . . the first Grandjury consisted of three & twenty, three were for presenting the whole paper, Eight were for presenting the fifth paragraph, with which the first three agreed, but there were twelve against the whole, . . . (B.M., *Add. MSS.* 21122.)

- (3) Extract from Lord Midleton's letter to Thomas Brodrick, Nov. 17, 1724.

'Just now a very sober man of good fortune, and well affected to his (Carteret's) person and government, expressed a good deal of surprize, that no bill of indictment had been drawn against Harding, the printer, and seemed to hint, if that had been done, it is possible the bill might have been found, which would have shewn how little influence the *Seasonable Advice* had on the minds of the jurors; and indeed it is pretty unaccountable to me, why that hath not been done in all this time, if there be sufficient for finding the bill; and this would have put the offence of printing into a legal examination.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 405.)

l. 25. *those who Sign'd to have the Author Prosecuted.* One of those, Lord Midleton, gave his views on this paper in a letter to Thomas Brodrick, dated Nov. 23, 1724:

'The proclamation agreed on in council, had such an effect, that Harding the printer of that letter was apprehended and carryed before the chief justice (as I hear) in order to be prosecuted for printing the letter. Some time after there came out a paper called *Seasonable Advice*, one of which I send you under this cover: you will see the tendency of it to be to disincline the grand jury to find any bill of indictment against Harding the printer, which I own I think to be a most impudent and illegal practice, and punishable by law, under the name of embracery of jurors (but perhaps I may mistake in this point of crown law, having for some years past discontinued thinking on that part of my profession which relates to criminal matters). The paper seems to me to goe farther, and to endeavour not only to excuse but vindicate the author of the letter for what he had said in

relation to the dependency of Ireland, and to leave that as a doubtful point. I passe by that part of it which reflects most vilely on the persons who signed the order for prosecuting the writer and printer of the letter, considering that I am directly libelled by that paper.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 408.)

l. 26. *His Grace the Ld Arch-Bp. of Dublin*. See Introd., p. xliii, and cf. his letter to Samuel Molineux, dated Nov. 24, 1724: '... I thought the premium excessive, so I and three more refused to sign it, but declared, that if his excellency would secure us from the brass money, I would sign it, or any other, tending only to the disadvantage of private persons; but, till we had that security, I would look on this proclamation no otherwise than as a step towards passing that base and mischievous coin, and designed to intimidate those who opposed the passing it; and I declared, that I would not approve of any thing that might countenance, or encourage such a ruinous project; that issuing such a proclamation would make all believe, that the government was engaged to support Wood's pretensions, and that would neither be for their honour nor ease. I was not able to stop the proclamation, but my refusing to sign it has not been without effect.' *St. Patrick's*, p. 344 n.

It was probably at this time that the following verses appeared:

To his Grace the Arch-bishop of DUBLIN,
A POEM

Serus in cælum redeas diuque
Lætus intersis populo——Hor.

GREAT, GOOD and JUST was once apply'd
To *One* who for his Country died,
To *One* who lives in its Defence,
We speak it in a Happier Sense.
O may the *Fates* thy Life prolong!
Our Country then can dread no Wrong:
In thy great Care we place our Trust,
Because thour't GREAT, and GOOD, and JUST.
Thy *Breast unshaken* can oppose
Our *Private* and our *Publick Foes*,
The Latent Wiles, and *Tricks of State*,
Your *Wisdom* can with Ease Defeat.

When Pow'r in all its Pomp appears,
 It falls before thy Rev'rend Years,
 And willingly resigns its Place
 To Something Nobler in thy Face.
 When once the fierce pursuing *Gaul*
 Had drawn his Sword for *Marius'* Fall,
 The Godlike Hero with one frown
 Struck all his Rage, and Malice down;
 Then how can we dread *William Wood*,
 If by *thy Presence* he's withstood?
 Where Wisdom stands to keep the Field,
 In Vain he brings his *Brazen Shield*.
 Tho' like the *Gybel's* Priest he comes,
 With furious Din of *Brazen Drums*,
 The Force of thy superior Voice
 Shall strike him dumb, and quell their Noise.

See Appendix III, p. 375.

P. 92, l. 11. *For it will be impossible to find the Author.* This passage to the end of the paragraph was marked in Carteret's copy; probably he recognized here the clearest indication of the hand of the Drapier.

l. 17. *a Fable, ascrib'd to Demosthenes.* Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Demosthenes*: 'At which time they write that *Demosthenes* told the people of *ATHENS*, the fable of the Sheepe and Wolves, how that the Wolves came on a time, and willed the Sheepe, if they would have peace with them, to deliver them their mastives that kept them.' (North's translation, 1610, p. 854.)

AN EXTRACT OUT OF A BOOK, ETC.

P. 93, l. 1. The book referred to was registered in the Trinity Term, June 1681, as follows: 'An Exact Collection of the most Considerable Debates in the Honourable House of Commons at the Parliament held at *Westminster*, the one and Twentieth of October, 1680; which was Prorogued and Dissolved the Eighteenth day of *January* following. In Octavo. . . Printed for *R. Baldwin*.' See Arber, *Term Catalogues*, i. 452.

l. 6. *Nov. the 13th 1680.* It was actually Nov. 23 that the

resolutions were drawn up, when 'Several Persons that served upon the Grand Jury for the County of *Middlesex*, in *Trinity* Term last, being called in, gave an Account to the House of the Manner of the Proceedings of the Court of King's Bench, in discharging the said Grand Jury. . . .' See *Eng. Commons' Journals*, ix. 661. A further statement occurs in the Address on the State of the Kingdom: 'A Presentment being prepared for a Grand Jury of *Middlesex* against Your Majesty's said Brother the Duke of *Yorke*, under whose Countenance all the rest shelter themselves, the Grand Jury were, in an unheard-of, and unprecedented, and illegal manner, discharged; and That with so much Haste and Fear, lest they should finish that Presentment, that they were prevented from delivering many other Indictments by them at that time found among other Popish Recusants.' Ibid. ix. 666. Articles of Impeachment were drawn up against Sir Wm. Scroggs, and submitted to the House of Lords. Ibid. ix. 697 f.

It was of course pointed out at the time that the occasion was quite different, and that therefore these resolutions were not wholly relevant. Swift makes admirable play with this in his *Letter to Lord Molesworth*, pp. 113-14; and the case is fully argued in the following excellent letters, which are certainly forcible enough to warrant the suggestion, often made, that Swift himself wrote them. They are reprinted here in full from the copies in the Forster Collection (see Appendix II, pp. 368-9):

A LETTER from a Friend To the Right Honourable

— — —

Ceteri, quanto quis servitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur: invalido legum auxilio, quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur. *Tacit. Ann.*

To the Right Honourable——

I Fear your Lordship in your wonted Zeal for the Interest of your Country will think this Paper VERY UNSEASONABLE; but I am very confident not more than one Man of this Kingdom will be of your Lordship's Judgment.

In Matters of Law your Opinion has from our first Acquain-

tance entirely Guided me, and the things you have assured me I might depend upon as Law, have few of them escap'd my Memory, tho' I have had but little Conversation with you since you first appear'd in Parliament and mov'd the House to Resolve, That it is the indispensable Duty of the Judges of this Kingdom to go thro' their Circuits; nor have I had any since you fell Sick and was made Solicitor General.

I have often heard your Lordship affirm, and therefore I do affirm it, That the great Ends for which *Grand-juries* were instituted, were the Support of the Government, the Safety of every Man's Life and Fortune, it being necessary some shou'd be trusted to inquire after all Disturbers of the Peace, that they might be prosecuted and brought to Condign Punishment; and it is no less needful for every Man's Quiet and Safety, that the Trust of such Inquisitions shou'd be put into the Hands of Persons of Understanding, and Integrity, that will suffer no Man to be falsely Accused or Defamed; nor the Lives of any to be put in Jeopardy, by the Malicious Conspiracies of *Great* or *Small*, or the Perjuries of any *Profligate Wretches*.

So material a Part of our Constitution are *Grand-juries*, so much does the Security of every Subject depend upon them, that tho' anciently the *Sheriff* was by express Law, chosen annually by the People of the County, and trusted with the Power of the County, yet the Law left not the Election of *Grand-Juries* to the Will of the Sheriff, but has described their Qualifications, which if they have, and the *Sheriff* return them, no Man, nay no *Judge*, can object to their being Sworn, much less may they to their serving when Sworn: And to prevent the discretionary Power (a new fashion'd Term) of these Judges over Juries, you used to say was made the Statute of the 11th of *Hen. 4.*

Pardon me my Lord if I venture to affirm, That a Dissolving Power is a Breach of that Law, or at least an Evasion, as every Citizen in *Dublin* in Sir *Constantine Phip[ps]*' Time perfectly understood, that disapproving the Aldermen Lawfully return'd to the Privy Council was in effect assuming the Power of Choos- ing and Returning — But your Lordship and I know *Dissolving* and *Disapproving* are different TERMS.

I always understood from your Lordship the Trust and Power [of] *Grand-juries* is or ought to be accounted amongst the Greatest

and of most Concern, next to the *Legislative*: The Honour, Reputations, Fortunes and Lives of every Man being Subject to their Censure; the Kings of *England* have an undoubted Power of Dissolving Parliaments, but Dissolving 'till one was return'd to their or their Ministers liking, has never been thought very *Righteous*, and Heaven be praised never very *successful*.

I am entirely of your Lordship's Opinion, the Oath of a *Grand-jury man* is not always sufficiently considered by the *Jurors*, which is as follows.

You shall diligently Enquire, and true Presentment make of all such Articles, Matters and Things as shall be given you in Charge: And of all other Matters and Things as shall come to your own Knowledge, touching this present Service. The King's COUNSEL YOUR FELLOWS AND YOUR OWN YOU SHALL KEEP SECRET, &c.—And from some other Men's Behaviour, I fear *Oaths* are not always as *Sacredly observed* as they ought to be: The Kings Counsel, your Fellows and your OWN you shall keep Secret—Tho' our Grand-mothers my Lord might have thought there was a Dispensing Power in the *Pope*, you and I profess no Power upon Earth can dispence with this *Oath*; so that to force a Man to discover the Counsel he is Sworn to keep, is to force him into direct PERJURY.

Suppose upon Information taken before your Lordship of a Rape committed, a Bill of Indictment were sent to a *Grand-jury*, and the *Grand jury* return *Ignoramus* on it, Application is made to the Court to recommend it to them to reconsider it, and they return as before *Ignoramus*—Suppose a Judge with more than decent Passion shou'd ask them their Reasons (which is their Counsel) for so doing, nay shou'd be so particular as to demand of them whether they thought the Woman a Whore. Must not all the World conclude Some-body had forgot the *Oath of a Grand-juryman*? Yes sure, or his own, or WORSE.—But suppose they shou'd ask a *Juror* a Question might Criminate himself? My Lord, you know I put not bare Possibilities, it is Generally believ'd these Things have been done within an Oak of this Town—And if I am rightly inform'd, the Restraint a *Juror* is under by his *Oath*, is so well understood, that a certain Person desired the Clerk of the Crown to change the Form of it by adding this Exception: *UNLESS BY LEAVE OR ORDER OF THE COURT.*

These Things, my Lord, would seem strange in *Westminster-Hall*, and wou'd be severely noted in *St. Stephen's Chapel*. The Honour of the Crown wou'd be thought a very false as well as weak Plea for such Proceedings there, as indeed it is an infamous one every where, for 'tis a Scandal upon a King, if he is represented in a Court of Justice, as if he were partially concern'd or rather inclined to desire, that a Party shou'd be found *Guilty*, than that he shou'd be declared *Innocent*.

The King's Interest and Honour is more concern'd in the Protection of the *Innocent*, than in the Punishment of the *Guilty*, as in all the immediate Actions of his Majesty we find that Maxim pursued, a Maxim can never run a Prince into Excesses. We do not only find those Princes represented in History under Odious Characters, who have basely betray'd the *Innocent*, but such as by their Spys and Informers were too inquisitive after the *Guilty*, whereas none was ever blamed for Clemency, or for being too gentle Interpreters of the Law. Tho' *Trajan* was an Excellent Prince, endow'd with all Heroical Virtues; yet the most eloquent Writers, and HIS BEST FRIENDS, found nothing more to be praised in his Government, than that in his Time, all Men might think what they pleas'd, and every Man speak what he thought, this I say, that if any amongst us by Violent Measures, and a Dictatorial Behaviour have raised Jealousies in the Minds of his M——y's faithful Subjects, the Blame may lye at their Door.

I know it has been said for his M——y's Service, *Grand-juries* may be forced to discover their Counsels: But you will confess a King can do nothing against Law, nor will any honest Man Judge that for his Service, which is not warranted by Law: If a constant uninterrupted Usage, can give the Force of a Law, then the *Grand-jury-men* are bound by Law, as well as by their *Oaths*, to keep the King's, their Fellows and their own Counsel Secret. *Bracton* and *Britton* in their several Generations bear Witness, That it was then practised; and greater Proof of it needs not be sought, than the Disputes that appear by the Law Books to have been amongst the antient Lawyers, WHETHER IT WAS TREASON OR FELONY FOR A GRAND-JURYMAN TO DISCOVER THEIR COUNSELS—The Trust of *Grand-juries* was in those Days thought so *sacred*, and their Secrecy of so great Concern

to the Kingdom, that whosoever shou'd break their *Oaths*, was by all thought worthy to die, only some wou'd have them suffer as *Traitors*, others as *Felons*.

If a King's Commands shou'd come to the Judges of a Court of *Justice* or to a *Jury*, desiring them to vary from the Direction of the *Law*, (which it is Criminal to say, and no Man ought to be believ'd therein) they are bound by their *Oaths* not to regard them: The Statute of 2 of *E. 3.* 8. and 20 *E. 3.* 1. are express; and the Substance of these and other Statutes is inferred into the *Oaths* taken by every *Judge*; and if they be under the most *Solemn* and *Sacred* Tye in the Execution of *Justice* to hold for nothing the Commands of the King under the great Seal, then surely Political Views and Schemes, the Pleasure or Displeasure of a Minister, in the like Case ought to be less than nothing.

It is a strange Doctrine that Men must Sacrifice the Law to secure their Properties, If the Law is to be fashion'd for every Occasion, if *Grand-jury men* contrary to their *Oaths* must discover their *Fellows* and their own *Counsels*, and betray the Trust the *Law* has reposed in them, if they must Subject the Reasons of their *Verdicts* to the Censure of the *Judges*, whom the *Law* did never design to trust with the *Liberty*, *Property*, or *Good-Name* of their Fellow Subjects. No Man can say he has any Security for his *Life* or *Fortune*, and they who do not themselves, may however see their best Friends and nearest Relations suffer the utmost *Violences* and *Oppressions*.

Which leads me to say a few Words of the *Petit-jury*, not forgetting Mr. *Walters*, I am assured by an Eminent Lawyer, that the Power and Office of a *Petit-jury* is Judicial, that they only are the Judges from whose *Sentence* the Indicted are to expect Life or Death. Upon their Integrity and Understanding the Lives of all that are brought in Judgment do ultimately depend; from their *Verdict* there lyes no appeal, by finding *Guilty* or *Not Guilty*. They do complicate resolve both *Law* and *Fact*. As it hath been the Law, so it hath always been the Custom and Practice of these *Juries* (except as before) upon all general Issues, pleaded in Cases Civil as well as Criminal, to Judge both of the *Law* and *Fact*. So it is said in the Report of the Lord Chief Justice *Vaughan* in *BUSHELL's Case*, That these *Juries* determine the Law in all Matters where Issue is Joyn'd and Try'd,

in the Principal Case whether the Issue be about *Trespass* or *Debt*, or *Disseizin* in Assizes, or a *Tort* or any such like, unless they should please to give a *Special Verdict* with an *Implicate Faith* in the Judgment of the Court, to which none can oblige them against their WILLS.

It is certain we may hope to see the Trust of a *Grand-jury man* best discharged when Gentlemen of the best Fortunes and Understandings attend that Service, but it is as certain we must never expect to see such Men on *Juries*, if for differing with a Judge in Opinion, when they only are the Lawful Judges, they are liable to be treated like *Villains*, like *Perjurors*, and *Enemies* to their King and Country; I say my Lord such Behaviour to *Juries* will make all Gentlemen avoid that Duty, and instead of Men of *Interest*, of *Reputation* and *Abilities*, our *Lives*, our *Fortunes*, and our *Reputations* must depend upon the *Basest* and *Meanest* of the People.

I know it is commonly said, *Boni Judicis est ampliare Jurisdictionem*. But I take that to be better Advice which was given by the Lord Chancellor *Bacon* upon Swearing a Judge; That he would take care to contain the Jurisdiction of the Court within the Ancient MERE-STONES without removing the Mark.

I intend to pay my Respects to your Lordship once every Month 'till the Meeting of the Parliament, when our Betters may consider of these Matters, and therefore will not trouble you with any more on this Subject at present. But Conclude, most heartily Praying—

That from depending upon the WILL of a Judge, who may be Corrupted or Sway'd by his own Passions, Interests, or the impulse of Such as Support him and may advance him to Greater Honours, the GOD of Mercy and of Justice deliver this Nation.
Dec. the First 1724.

I am, My Lord,
Your Lordship's most O-
bedient Humble Servant.

N. N.

A SECOND LETTER From A Friend To the Right Honourable — — —

Ubi semel recto deerratum est in præceps pervenitur—a rectis in vitia, a vitiis in prava, a pravis in præcipitia. *Vell. Pater.*

Self-Love, is the Love of one's Self, and of every thing else for one's own Sake: It makes a Man the Idolater of himself, and the Tyrant of others. *Rochfaucault.*

My LORD,

I Think the best Service Men employ'd by his Majesty can do for him and this Country, is to shew such Prudence and Temper in their Behaviours as may convince every Man they are not intrusted with any Power but what is necessary and will always be exercised for the *Advantage* and *Security* of his Majesties Subjects.

For my own part I hold it the Duty of every Man tho' he has not the Honour of serving his Majesty in publick Employment, not only, not to misrepresent the Actions of his Servants, but in Matters of small Concern, to wink at their Follies and Mistakes; I know the *Jacobites* and *Papists* our irreconcilable Enemies are too watchful to lay hold of every Occasion to misrepresent his M——y and turn the Faults of ambitious and self-interested Servants upon the *Best of Kings*.

I hear some Men say, that in my last to your Lordship, there appears more of the Satyrist, than becomes a Man engaged merely in the Defence of Liberty and Justice; But I am satisfy'd I can with Charity affirm, they are either such as have no Knowledge of the several Steps have been taken to bring this poor Country into *Ruin* and *Disgrace*, or they are of the Number of those who have had a Share in the Actings and *Contrivances* against it; for my Lord, he must rather be an insensible Stoick than an angry Cynick, who can survey the Measures of some Men without *Horour* and *Indignation*—To see Men act as if they had never taken an Oath of Fidelity to their King, whose Interest is inseparable from that of his People, but had sworn to support the *Ruinous Projects* of abandon'd Men (of whatever Faction) must rouse the most Lethargick if *Honest* Soul.

I who have always profess'd my self a *Whig* do confess it has mine.

I beg leave in this Place to explain what I intended in my last by the Words, *Unless by Leave or Order of the Court*, least whilst I plead for Justice I should do an Injury to your Lordship.

I do declare I never heard that Story of your Lordship, and I hope no Man did believe it of you. My Intention was by that

Hint to remember you of Judge U—p—n and a certain *Assizes* held at *Wicklow*, as I believe your Lordship understood it, and as I now desire all the World may.

Having learn'd from your Lordship and other Lawyers of *undoubted Abilities*, that no Judge ought by Threats or Circumvention to make a Grand-Jury-Man discover the King's Counsel his Fellows or his own I shou'd not at present say any thing in support of that Position. But that I find a most *ridiculous* and *false Explanation* seem to mislead some Men in that Point: Say they, by the Word Counsel is understood, such Bills as are before the Grand-Jury and the Evidence the Prosecutors for the Crown have to support the Charge against the Subject——Least that being known the Party indictable may fly from Justice, or he may procure false Witnesses to discredit the Evidence for the King, or he may by Bribes and other indirect Measures take off the Witnesses for the Crown.

I confess I take that to be the meaning of the Word Counsel, but I am certain that is not *All* that is meant by it, that is what must be understood when it is call'd the *King's Counsel*, *id est*, the Counsel or Reasons for which the King by his Servants, his Attorney General or Coronor, has drawn and sent to the Grand Jury a Charge against a Subject.

But the Counsel of a Juror is a Different Thing, it is the *Evidence*, the *Motives* and *Reasons* that induce him or his Fellow Jurors to say *Billa vera* or *Ignoramus*, and the *Opinion* he or they happen to be of when the Question is put by the Foreman for finding or not finding: This Counsel every Man is sworn to keep Secret, that so their Opinion and Advice may not be of *Prejudice* to them hereafter, That as they are sworn to act without *Favour* or *Affection*, so may they also act without FEAR. Whereas, were it otherwise the Spirit of Revenge is so Universal, there are but few Cases wherein a Juror cou'd act with Safety to himself; either the Prosecuted, as where the Bill is found, or the Prosecutor, where it is return'd *Ignoramus*, may contrive to defame the Jurors who differ from them in Opinion: As I am told has happen'd to some very honest Citizens who are Represented to be *Jacobites* since their Opinions were known to be against—— And sometimes Revenge or *Ambition* may prompt Men to carry it further, as in the Case of Mr. *Wilmer*, who in King *Charles 2d's* Time was

very severely handled for being one of an *Ignoramus Jury*.—'Tis not necessary to say whom he disoblig'd by being so.—But if I remember right his Case was this.

He was a Merchant, (and as I said, an *Ignoramus Jury-man*) had covenanted with a Servant Boy to serve him in the *West Indies*, and accordingly sent him beyond Sea: Upon Suggestion and Affidavit by which any Person might have it, a Writ *de Homine Replegiando* was granted against Mr. *Wilmer*; the Sheriffs wou'd have return'd on the Writ the Agreement and the Boy's Consent, but the Court (in the Case of *this Wilmer*) *Easter 34. Cha. 2, in B.R.* ruled they must return *Replegiari fecimus* or *Elongavit*, that is, they had replevy'd the Boy, or that *Wilmer* had carried him away where they cou'd not find him, in which last Case Mr. *Wilmer*, tho' an *Innocent Person* must have gone to *Goal* until he brought the Boy into Court or he must have been *Out-Law'd*——*Shower's Rep. 2 Part.*

I do not say this that I think the same thing will be practic'd again, or any thing like it, tho' I know that very homely Proverb, *more Ways of killing a Dog than hanging him*.—But I instance it to shew, the Counsels of every Grand jury-man shou'd be kept *Secret*, that he may act *freely* and without *Apprehensions* of *Resentment* from the *Prosecuted* or *Prosecutor*.

My Resolution when I writ to you last, was, not to have said any thing in this concerning the *Power of Dissolving* or *Dispensing*, but as I have been forc'd to say something of the *Dispensing*, for the same Reason I must of the *Dissolving Power*.—A Power undoubtedly in Effect including that of *Returning*, which makes me wish two Men of great Interest in this Kingdom, *differing in every other thing*, had not undertaken to defend it, or they had better Reasons for it than I have yet heard.

'Tis said, *This Power is in the Court as a Right of Resistance is in the People, as the People have a Power Superior to the Prerogative of the Prince, tho' no Written or Express Law for it; so of Necessity tho' no Statute directs it, and it may seem to overturn the greatest Security Men have for their Liberties, yet the Court has a Power of Dissolving Grand-Juries, if they refuse to find or present as the Court shall direct.*

Pray let us consider how well this concludes:

The *People* may do any thing in *Defence* of their *Lives*, their

Religion and Liberties, and consequently Resistance is Lawful, therefore an *Inferiour Court a Bene placito Judge* may — Monstrous Absurdity.

Another, I am Sorry I can't say more modest Argument to Support it is this.——

Considering say they Grand Juries, it is but reasonable a Discretionary Power of Dissolving them shou'd be lodg'd in the Judges.

By the Words *Considering Grand-Juries*, I must understand *Considering* their *Understandings*, their *Fortunes* or their *Integrity*, for from a *Want* of one or more of those Qualifications must arise the *Reason* of such a *Discretionary Power* in the Judges.

Tho' I shall not urge it *as far as I cou'd*, I will venture to say the Argument is *at least as strong* the other way—*Considering the Judges.*——

First as to their *Understandings*, it must be confessd the Benches are infinitely *Superiour* to the Lower Professors of the Law: Yet surely it can't give Offence to say the Gentlemen of the several Counties have *Understandings* Sufficient to discharge the Duty of Grand jury-men——If *want of Fortune* be an Objection to Grand-jury-men, *a pari Ratione*, it is an Objection to *some other Men*. Besides, that the Fact is not true, for in their Circuits, *no Judge* goes into any County where he does not meet *at least* a Dozen Gentlemen return'd upon *every Grand Jury*, *every one of whom* have better Estates than he himself has——AND THESE NOT DURING PLEASURE, which last Consideration, saves me the Trouble of shewing the Weakness of the *Objection* in the *Third Qualification*.

Ay. *But it was a necessary Expedient to keep out Wood's Brass.*

Are the *Properties* of the Commons of this Kingdom better secur'd by the *Knight Errantry* of that Day? In the Name of Common Sense, what are we to believe? *Has the Undaunted Spirit*, the *Tremendous Voice* of —— fright'ned *Wood* and his Accomplices from any *further Attempts*? Or rather has not the *ready Compliance* of —— encouraged them to further Tryals? The *Officers* and *Attendants* of his Court may tremble when he *Frowns*, but who else regards it more than they do one of *Wood's Farthings*.

There is no Comparison, says another, *between the Affair of Sir W. Scroggs and this of ——. Sir W. Discharged a Grand-Jury*

because they were about to present the Duke of York for being a Papist, but ——— Discharg'd the Grand-Jury for not presenting a Paper he recommended to them to present as Scandalous, (and in which, I say, he was a Party reflected on.)

I agree there is a mighty Difference, but whom does it make for?

A Grand Jury of a Hundred (*Part of a County*) take upon them to Present a no less considerable Person than the *King's Brother* and HEIR PRESUMPTIVE OF THE CROWN, the Chief Justice thinks this a Matter of too much Moment for Men of such Sort to meddle in, but a Matter more proper for the Consideration of Parliament: I wou'd not be understood to condemn the Jury; I think they acted as became Honest English Men and Lovers of their Country; But I say if Judges cou'd in any Case be allow'd to proceed by *Rules of Policy*, surely here was a sufficient Excuse. However the Commons impeach'd him.

The Determinations of Ignorant or Wicked Judges, as they are Precedents of *little Weight*, so they are but of *little Danger*, and therefore it will become the Commons *at all Times* to Animadvert *most carefully* upon the Actions of the *most knowing Men* in that Profession.

I say, my Lord, at *all Times*, because I hear former Merit is pleaded to *Skreen* this Action from any Inquiry.

I am sensible much is due to the Man who has always prefer'd the Publick Interest to his private Advantages as ——— has done. When a Man has signaliz'd himself, when he has suffer'd for that Principle, he deserves universal Respect. Yet Men shou'd act agreeably to the *Motive* of that Respect, and not ruin the Liberty of their Country to shew their Gratitude, and so, my Lord, where a Man has the *least* Pretence to that Character, I think 'tis best to pass over small Offences, but never such as will intail *Danger* and *Dishonour* upon *Us* and our *Posterity*.

The *Romans*, my Lord, when a Question was in the *Senate* whether they shou'd Ransom Fifteen thousand Citizens who had meritted much by their former Victories, but losing *One Battle* were taken Prisoners; were determin'd by the Advice of that Noble Roman *Attilius Regulus* not to redeem them as Men unworthy their further Care, tho' probably it was their Misfortunes not their Faults lost that Day.

*Flagitio additis
Damnum: neque amissos colores
Lana refert medicata fuco:*

He thought they were not worthy to be trusted again:— To shew them Pity, in his Mind, wou'd betray the *Romans* to perpetual Danger: *Et exemplo trahenti*

*Perniciem veniens in ævum,
Si non periret immiserabilis
Captiva pubes.*

I hear some Precedents have been lately found out to justify that memorable Action; but if Precedents must controul Reason and Justice, if a Man may swear he will keep his Counsels secret, and yet by Precedents may be forced to Devulge them, I wou'd advise Gentlemen very seriously to Consider, the Danger we are in; and Examine what Precedents there are on each side of the Question, for my Part I think the Commons of *England* are not a worse Precedent than the Judges of *England*.

Besides it must be remembred that Precedents in some Cases will not Excuse a Judge, even where they are according to the undoubted Law of the Land, as for Instance,

Suppose a Man says what is true, not knowing it to be true, tho' it be Logically a Truth as it is Distinguish'd, yet it is *Morally False*; and so, suppose a Judge give Judgment according to Law, not knowing it to be so, as if he did not know the Reason of it at that Time, but bethought himself of a *Reason* or PRECEDENT for it afterwards, tho' the Judgment be Legal and According to Precedent, yet the Pronouncing of it is Unjust; and the Judge shall be Condemn'd in the Opinions of all Men: As happen'd to the Lord Chief Justice *Popham* a Person of Great Learning and Parts, who upon the Tryal of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; when Sir *Walter* objected to Reading or Giving in Evidence, Lord *Cobham's* Affidavit, taken in his Absence, without producing the Lord Face to Face, the Lord being then forth coming: The Chief Justice over-ruled the Objection, and was of Opinion it shou'd be given in Evidence against Sir *Walter*, and Summing up the Evidence to the Jury the Chief Justice said, *Just then it came into his Mind why the Accuser shou'd not come Face to Face to the Prisoner, because, &c.* Now if any Judge has since found Prece-

dents, or has since pick'd up the Opinion of Lawyers, I fear he will come within the Case I have put.

I foresee, if ever this Question happens to be Debated, YOU KNOW WHERE, Gentlemen will be divided, Some will be desirous to do their Country Justice and free us from all future Danger of this Kind. Others upon Motives not quite so Laudable, will strive to skreen, and with others private Friendship will prevail: But I wou'd recommend to your Friends, who really love their Country, to consider the several Circumstances concurring in your Lordship which probably may not in your Successor: Let them suppose a Person were to fill your Place from whose *Manifest Ignorance in the Law*, we may reasonably conclude, his *Only Merit* is an *Inveteracy* and *Hatred to this Country*. I say how cou'd your best Friends Excuse themselves, if in regard to your Lordship they shou'd suffer such a Precedent to be handed down to *such a Man unobserv'd or uncensur'd*?

Invenit etiam Æmulos Infelix nequitia—Ambitious Men have not always been deterr'd by the Unhappy Fate of their Predecessors, *Quid si floreat vigeatque?* But what Lengths will they run if Injustice and Corruption shall ride Triumphant?

Had somebody receiv'd a Reprimand upon his Knees in a proper Place, for treating A PRINTERS JURY like Men convict of Perjury, forcing them to find a special Verdict, I dare to say he had not been quite so hardy as to have discharg'd the Grand-Jury or treated them in the Manner he did, because they had not an Implicit Faith in the Court; nor had he dar'd not to receive a Presentment made by the Second Grand-Jury against *Wood's* Farthings upon Pretence it was Informal, which I mention because the Worthy DRAPIER has mistaken the Fact.

Some of your Lordship's Skreens I hear, advise you to shew great *Humility* and *Contrition* for what's past, as the only Means to appease the just Indignation all Sorts of Men have conceiv'd against you.—Were I well secur'd you will not recommend this Letter to the next Grand Jury *to be presented*, I cou'd give you more SEASONABLE ADVICE, but happen as it may I will venture to give you a Little.

Fawning and Cajoling will have but little Effect on those who have had the Honour of your Acquaintance these Ten Years past, for *Caligula* who used to hide his Head if he heard the

Thunder, wou'd Piss upon the Statues of the Gods when he thought the Danger over——A Better Expedient is this,——

Tell Men the DRAPIER is a *Tory* and a *Jacobite*.—That he writ *The Conduct of the Ally's*.—That he writ not his Letters with a Design to keep out *Wood's* Half-pence, but to bring in the *Pretender*, perswade them *if you can*, the Dispute is no longer about the Power of *Judges* over *Juries*, nor how much the Liberty of the Subject is endanger'd by Dissolving them at Pleasure, but that it is now become mere WHIG and TORY, a Dispute between his M——y's Friends and the *Jacobites*, and 'twere better to see a Thousand Grand-Juries Discharged than the *Tories* carry a Question tho' in the Right.—*Hæc Vulnere pro libertate publica excepi, hunc Occulum pro vobis impendi*. Try this Cant, pin a Cloath over your Eyes, look very dismal, and Cry, *I was turn'd out of Employment, when the DRAPIER was Rewarded with a D——y*. I say, my Lord, if you can once bring Matters thus to bear, I have not the least doubt you may escape without Censure.

To your Lordship's Zeal and Industry without doubt is owing, that the *Papists* and the *Tories* have not deliver'd this Kingdom over to the *Pretender*, so *Cæsar* conquer'd *Pompey* that *Legum Auctor et Eversor*, and 'twas but just the Liberty and Laws of *Rome* shou'd afterwards depend upon his *Will* and *Pleasure*.—The DRAPIER in his Letter to Lord *Molesworth* has made a fair Offer, *Secure his Country from Wood's Coynage*, then Condemn all he has writ and said as False and Scandalous, when your Lordship does as much I must confess it will be somewhat Difficult to Discover the IMPOSTOR.

Thus to keep my Word with your Lordship, I have much against my Inclinations writ this, which shall be my last upon the ungrateful Subject.—If I have leisure, and find a safe Opportunity of giving it to the Printer, my next shall explain what has long dup'd the True *Whigs* of this Kingdom, I mean HONESTY IN THE WORST OF TIMES.——

Tho' your Lordship Objects to my Last, that what I writ was taken out of Lord *Coke*, Lord *Sommers*, Sir *Will. Jones*, or the Writings of some other Great Men, yet I will venture to End this with the Sentiments of *Philip de Comines* upon some THORO-GOING-Courtiers.

If a Six-Penny Tax is to be raised, they cry by all Means it ought to be double. If the Prince is offended with any Man, they are directly for Hanging him. In other Instances, they maintain the same Character. Above all things they advise their King to make himself terrible, as they themselves are proud, Fierce, and Over bearing, in hopes to be dreaded by that Means, as if Authority and Place were their Inheritance.

I am,

My LORD,

Jan. 4, 1724/5:

Your Lordship's most
Obedient and most
Humble Servant.

N. N.

PRESENTMENT OF THE GRAND JURY

P. 95, l. 1. The Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin had already in the previous Easter Term presented a petition to the King against Wood. The following text is reprinted from the *Dublin Gazette*, June 25/7, 1724. It was inserted a second time on July 1.

Dublin, June 27.

To the KING's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin, met at his Majesty's Chief Bench of Ireland, Easter Term, 1724.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Grand Jury of the County of the City of Dublin, in the most humble manner, beg leave to return your most Sacred Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for the Enjoyment of our Civil Rights and Liberties under your most Auspicious Reign; and with the profoundest Submission, We beg leave to represent to Your Majesty, that the present Trade of this Kingdom begins to be deprest by a Report spread abroad, of the uttering and passing Halfpence and Farthings from *William Woods*, Esq;

We think ourselves under an indispensable Duty, as well to Your Majesty, our Country and our selves, humbly to represent

to your Majesty, that the Circulation of those Halfpence and Farthings will be highly detrimental to your Majesty's Revenue, greatly destructive of the Trade and Commerce of this your Kingdom, and tend to the Ruin and impoverishing Your Majesty's most dutiful Subjects thereof.

We therefore humbly beseech Your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased to give such directions, as in Your great Wisdom [You] shall think proper, to prevent the many evils that may accrue from passing of the said *Wood's* Halfpence and Farthings, whereby Your Majesty's Loyal Subjects of this Kingdom may be the better enabled to stand by and support Your Majesty, against any Attempts that may be made against Your Sacred Person, in favour of an attainted Popish Pretender.

And We beg leave, in the most solemn manner, to assure Your Majesty, That We are determined to hazard our Lives and Fortunes, in defence of Your most Sacred Person and Government, and supporting the Succession in Your Royal House, against the Pretender and all other Your Majesty's Enemies.

That the Wise Administration of Your Majesty may (under Almighty God) always meet with suitable returns of Duty and Loyalty from Your Subjects, that you may Triumph over all your Enemies, and that after a long and happy Reign, that you may transmit the Government of these Kingdoms to a lasting Succession of Princes in Your Royal House, are the constant Prayers of us, Your Majesty's most dutiful, Loyal and Faithful Subjects.

Signed by Twenty-three names.

At the Michaelmas Term, following the suggestion made by Swift at the end of *Letter III*, p. 64, l. 11, the gentlemen of the counties also took the opportunity of making declarations against Wood's coin, e.g. the declarations of the counties of Dublin and Meath, reprinted above (see *notes* to p. 64, ll. 1, 10).

LETTER V

P. 97, l. 4. *Lord Viscount Molesworth*. In choosing Lord Molesworth Swift was addressing one of the leading Whigs in Ireland, an Irish patriot, and one who by his writings and

his friendships had gained the reputation of being dangerously liberal in his political views. (See *note* to p. 108, l. 7.) In the Revolution of 1688, he had been a loyal adherent of William III, who sent him in 1692 to the Court of Denmark. Later in the Preface to his book about Denmark, he attacks those 'unintelligible Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Jus Divinum*', and ranges himself with Locke and Sidney against Filmer and Bodin. He sat in the Irish and English Parliaments, and was a member of the Irish Privy Council from 1697 to 1713, when he was deprived of his place by Harley, who was almost certainly influenced by Swift's memorandum, entitled *Some Observations on the Privy Council of Ireland*, in which Molesworth is described as 'very bad' and 'not insignificant'. (See *Corr.* vi. 243.) But under George I he was rewarded with a baronetcy and later, in 1719, was made Viscount Molesworth of Swords. In 1723 he published *Considerations for Promoting Agriculture &c.*, described by Swift in his *Arguments against Enlarging the Power of Bishops, &c.* *Works*, iii. 236—as 'an excellent discourse, full of most useful hints'. He continues: 'I am not a stranger to his lordship; and, excepting in what relates to the Church, there are few persons with whose opinions I am better pleased to agree.' Other churchmen were less impressed by its excellence as indicated by the following extracts from a letter of Bishop Nicolson to Archbishop Wake, dated Oct. 19, 1723: 'Give me leave to present your Grace with a few of his Flowers. (1) Gathering of Tithes should be put upon a more equal foot; every Farmer to have his own at a Rate prescrib'd. The Bishops Courts are generally Inclined to favour the Tith-Jobbers, those Plagues of the Commonwealth, because they help to inhanche the Church's Gains. (2) I would propose a School for Husbandry, where Tusser's old Book of Husbandry should be taught instead of a Primer or Psalter; without any precept, Difference or Distinction, of Religion. (3) I should think it no sin to work on Holidays; nay, Sometimes on Sundays afternoon. 'Tis proclaim'd from the Desk on Sunday that such and such a day in the following Week is appointed to be kept Holy. And, What's the effect of this? Why truly, to give warning to all who have a mind to be idle, Drunk, or Debauch'd, (they) may that day put their wicked Designs in Execution.' (*Wake MSS.* ccxlvii). At the time

when Swift addressed this letter to Lord Molesworth, he was living in retirement at Swords. He died on May 23, 1725. (See *Elegy* by M. B.—certainly not Swift—B.M. 11602 i. l.)

Non jam prima peto. Sir Walter Scott quotes Dryden's translation of this passage:

I seek not now the foremost palm to gain;
Though yet—but, ah! that haughty wish is vain!
Let those enjoy it whom the gods ordain.

Aen. v. 194.

P. 99, l. 2. *Mr. Harding.* See note to p. 17, l. 4.

l. 23. *My Custom is to Dictate.* Sir Walter Scott notes: 'This was pretty nearly the Dean's real method of conducting the controversy. His butler acted as amanuensis.' But see *Introd.*, pp. lxxviii–lxxix.

P. 100, l. 17. *sending you again to Prison.* Harding had evidently been released at the end of the Michaelmas term. The case against him seems to have been dropped, as it was recognized that in the excitement caused by the proceedings against *Seasonable Advice*, no Jury would have found the Bill against him. (See Middleton's letter, Nov. 17, quoted above, in the note to p. 91, l. 14.)

l. 27. *St. Francis-street.* Mr. T. F. Higgins informs me that *St. Francis's Street* as it was originally called from the convent of St. Francis, which used to be situated there, runs parallel to Patrick Street, and joins the Coombe quite close to the Deanery.

l. 32. *very gross Errors in the Press.* It is noticeable that this letter was printed with much greater care than any of the earlier ones; but in this case of course there was less hurry. (See above, pp. lxxviii and 181–2.)

P. 101, l. 10. *a Proclamation* reprinted above, see note to p. 89, l. 17.

l. 14. *Lord Chief Justice.* Whitshed had been appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench on the accession of George I, and it must be remembered that he was regarded by many of his contemporaries as 'a man of judgment, eminent in virtue and knowledge, and possessed of social charm'. He worked with

Archbishop King in opposition to Lord Midleton, whom he hoped to succeed as Lord Chancellor. See Swift's letter to Sir Thomas Hanmer, dated Oct. 1, 1720: 'the Chancellor, afraid of losing his office and the Chief Justice, desirous to come into it, were both vying who should show their zeal most to discountenance the pamphlet' (i.e. *Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufactures*). (Corr. iii. 65 and note.) Swift admits in a letter to Pope, Jan. 10, 1721-2, 'that the man is no ill decider in common cases of property, where party is out of the question; but when that intervenes, with ambition at heels to push it forward, it must needs confound any man of little spirit, and low birth, who has no other endowment than that sort of knowledge, which, however possessed in the highest degree, can possibly give no one good quality to the mind.' (Corr. iii. 116.) His attitude was naturally the same in connexion with the Proclamation against the Fourth Letter, and the attempt to force the jury to present *Seasonable Advice*. But in spite of his zeal, and Carteret's recognition of his services, he did not get his reward, and Swift succeeded in raising the most violent popular feeling against him in Ireland. (See *Letters to the Right Honourable*—, reprinted above, pp. 270 ff., *Letter VI*, p. 125, and Elrington Ball, *Judges in Ireland*, ii. 96 f. and 189.)

Swift continued to attack Whitshed with equal violence after he was dead. In *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (1727-8) he says: 'It is too well-known that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to, which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name for fear of my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed's ghost with his *Libertas et natale solum*, written as a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both.' See *Works*, vii. 86. And when it was objected that he had treated 'the memory of the late Lord Chief Justice with an appearance of severity', he retorted in *An Answer to a Paper called a Memorial* (1728): 'Laying it therefore down for a postulatum, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no little creature of so mean a birth and genius, had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue, than HE, I answer thus; Whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddess sounding two different

trumpets, it is certain that people distinguished for their villainy have as good a title for a blast from the proper trumpet, as those who are most renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most celebrated profligates have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world, yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

'As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power, guilt, and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two printers, one to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God nor the King, nor him nor the public.' (Ibid., p. 115.)

P. 103, l. 1. *which you were pleased to approve of.* See Letter from Swift to Sir Thomas Hanmer, Oct. 1, 1720: 'The Whigs in general were for the pamphlet, though it be a weak, hasty scribble, and generally abominated the proceeding of the Justice, particularly all the Bishops except the late ones from England, the Duke of Wharton, Lord Molesworth, and many others.' (Corr. iii. 65.)

l. 18. *But of late some Great Folks complain.* Particularly directed against those members of the Privy Council, who were persuaded by Carteret to sign the Proclamation against *Letter IV.*

P. 104, l. 12. *an Affair of State.* Swift's use of this phrase here indicates very clearly that he was persuaded not to declare himself—by publishing the *Letter to Lord Middleton*—as a result of the Archbishop's visit to Carteret, when he learned that the latter had decided on the advice of the 'great Lawyers' Hale and Whitshed to treat the affair as a 'matter of state'. See *Intro.*, p. xlviii.

l. 30. *the two Points in my last Letter.* See note to p. 90, l. 6.

P. 105, l. 14. *without the least Information.* Misoxulos in his pamphlet addressed to the Drapier adds the following:

'When the People of Ireland Submitted to *Henry* the Second, King of England, it was agreed by a general Council at Cashel between the People of Ireland and that *Prince*, that they, *Regiae*

Sublimitatis Authoritate, should enjoy the like Liberties and Immunities, and be Govern'd by the same mild Laws, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as the People of *England*. And in the Year 1216, in the first Year of the Reign of *Henry* the third, by Advice of all his faithfull Councillors in *England*, to gratifie the *Irish* for their eminent Loyalty to his Father and him, That Prince granted them, out of his special Grace, *that They and their Heirs for ever should enjoy the Liberties granted by his Father and himself to the Realm of England.*' See *A Letter to M. B. Drapier, Author of a Letter to Ld. Molesworth*, p. 6 (Appendix II, p. 370).

l. 22. *the Exception I made.* See p. 79, l. 6 and *note*.

l. 31. *one Mr. Drue.* This is probably either Robert Drewe, returned May 9, 1625, for Devizes, or John Drewe, returned in the next Parliament for the same borough on Jan. 7, 1625-6.

P. 106, l. 12. *several Scandalous Reports.* See p. 67, l. 26 and *note*.

P. 107, l. 5. *I WENT TOO FAR.* See p. 79, l. 6 and *note*, and p. 377. Cf. also *To the Citizens*, ll. 32-3:

That stupid cant, 'he went too far', despise,
And know that to be brave is to be wise:
(*Aldine*, iii. 221.)

P. 108, l. 7. *the Writings of your Lordship, Mr. Lock, &c.* See note on Lord Molesworth above. It is curious that, with the exception of Locke's *Tracts relating to Money, Interest and Trade* (London 1696) (*Sale Cat.*, p. 8, no. 300), none of these dangerous authors are found in the catalogue of Swift's library, though of course he was very well acquainted with Molyneux, whose arguments on Ireland's independence he had repeatedly used, had certainly read Locke to good purpose, and was acquainted with Sidney's *Discourses concerning Government*—an answer to Sir Robert Filmer's *Patriarcha*, published in 1698—and with Molesworth's own writings, referred to above. On the other hand, Swift possessed besides *de Cive* and the Latin version of the *Leviathan*, Hobbes's *Opera philosophica* and *Leviathan* (1651) both of which he had annotated, and Bodin's *Les six Livres de la République* (1579) also annotated. (*Sale Cat.* pp. 5, 7, 13, 15.) But it may be of course that Faulkner did not discover the

'strong Chest' at the bottom of which Swift had buried them! See p. 117, l. 17, and note to l. 19.

l. 9. *Liberty as a Blessing*. Cf. 'tis the Cause of the whole Race of *Adam*, that I argue: *Liberty* seems the inherent Right of all *Mankind*;' Molyneux, *The Case of Ireland's Being Bound*, &c. (1725), p. 2.

l. 29. *to prove that the Sun shone in a Clear Summers Day*. See *Seasonable Advice to M. B. Drapier*: 'After the issuing of the above Proclamation, and no sign of a Discovery appeared, this Kingdom's Inhabitants, tho' sensible of the loss they suffer'd, out of a tender Love for your safety, wish'd they might benefit no longer at the Expence of their Deliverer, and were even proud, that you were so great a Politician to dissemble the Patriot, not like those mad *Mahometans*, who cut and wound their Carcasses to be accounted true Believers. Yet contrary to the Expectation of all People in an uncommon Dress of plated Black and White you make your publick Appearance, under the Protection of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Molesworth; I am positive your Visit had been more private if you had call'd to mind the Statute lately made for the *Dissolving of Protections*, or at least when you Address your self to so great a Man it should be for the further benefit of this Kingdom, and not (to use your own Words) to prove the Sun shone on a clear Summer's Day.' (See Appendix II, p. 371.)

P. 109, l. 2. *or else I may chance to Inform against you by Way of Reprisal*. This passage was particularly commented upon by the author of *Seasonable Advice To M. B. Drapier*: 'Now Sir, some People are of Opinion that you carried this too far, inasmuch as you become a Precedent to Informers: others think that you Intimate to his Lordship, the miserable Circumstance you are in by the Minaces of the 'Prentice to whom you Dictate; they conceive your Declaring to Inform if not feed to the contrary signifies your said 'Prentice on the least occasion to swear if you don't forthwith deliver him his Indentures, and half of your Stock to set up Trade with, he will inform against you, bring you to Justice, be dismiss'd by Law, and get the promised £300 to begin Trade with; how near these Conceptions be to truth I can't tell; but I know People think that word INFORM unseason-

able, inasmuch as WOODS Accomplices would Embrace the Image of any precedent.

I believe, Sir the Accommodation of all matters concerning WOODS's COIN will put a stop to your Writing on that Subject, and I am positive (tho' all would gladly Read your Work, that the Aversion with which all Irishmen Detest Woods is so great that they need no farther Advice on that occasion for not one Merchant but to manifest his Detestation of that cursed Project, but has got in large Characters o'er his Window, I WON'T TAKE WOODS's COIN; And to my own Knowledge, a Man who had the misfortune to be call'd William Woods, went lately to a Notary Publicks Office and paid Half a Crown in good Halfpence for the Drawing a Petition to his Grace the Lord Bishop of—— to get his Name alter'd from *William*. See another Example of a *Publick-Spirit*! his Wife as much incensed at *Wood* as the Husband at *William*, makes Affidavit that she will Sue for an order of Devorcement, in case the Husband would not change the Surname *Wood* to *Timber*.' (See Appendix II, p. 371.)

P. 109, l. 25. *Sir Charles Sidley*. This is evidently the well-known Sir Charles Sedley, whose name appears to have been spelt in many different ways by his contemporaries. (See V. de Sola Pinto, *Sir Charles Sedley*, 1927, p. 15.) I do not know where Swift heard this story, but Sedley's reputation as a wit was such that his remarks must often have been quoted in Swift's youth. In the edition of his Works which had just been published in 1722, he is described as 'the best Genius of the Age'. The incident referred to presumably took place after 1678 when, as Member of Parliament for New Romney, he would have been required to take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration in accordance with the Test Act.

P. 110, l. 8. *some Right Honourable Names very amicably joined with my own*. Though this letter is signed M. B. Drapier, we are allowed to recognize through such a reference as this the real author, Jonathan Swift, whose name had appeared at the bottom of the declaration, signed by the Nobility, Clergy, Gentlemen and Free-holders of the County of *Dublin*, drawn up on Sept. 3, 1724. (See note to p. 64, l. 1.)

P. 111, l. 10. *unless it be true that he is in Jail for Debt.* As reported in the newspapers at this time: 'London, Nov. 17/24, 'Tis Rumour'd that Mr. Wood is put into the Marshalsea in Bristow, but on what Account We cannot say.' (*The Dublin Post-Man*, Nov. 30, 1724.)

l. 19. *the Advice given me by a certain Dean.* It is amusing to notice the group of persons here among which the author hides himself—a Drapier, a Dean, 'a Writer as Innocent, as disinterested, and as well meaning as myself', and later on (p. 113, l. 10) 'a more Artful Hand'.

P. 112, l. 33. *two Printed Papers.* See pp. 89–93, and *Introd.*, pp. xlviii–liii.

P. 114, l. 7. *Sir William Scroggs.* Appointed Lord Chief Justice on May 31, 1678, at the time of the Popish Plot. One of the worst time-servers ever to hold that office, but for a time very popular owing to his violence against the Papists. Antony à Wood has a characteristic comment, which it is tempting to put by the side of more recent critics: 'he behaved himself with so undaunted a Courage and greatness of Spirit, giving such ample Testimony of his true Zeal for the Protestant Cause, that he gained thereby for a while an universal Applause throughout the whole Nation. . . . But at length the implacable and giddy-headed Rabble being possess'd with an Opinion, that he had not dealt uprightly in the Tryals of some of the Conspirators (he mitigating his Zeal when he saw the Popish Plot to be made a shooing-horn to draw on others) which caused Articles of Impeachment to be drawn up against him (read in the H. of Commons and Ingrossed, and on the 17th of Jan. 1680 sent up to the H. of Lords) he was removed from his high Office about the eleventh of April 1681, meerly to stop their Mouths, and so obtain quietness.' (*Athenae Oxonienses*, 1721, ii. 749.) One of the Articles of Impeachment against him was 'for illegally discharging the grand jury, whereby the course of justice was stopped maliciously and designedly,—the presentments of many Papists and other offenders were obstructed,—and in particular a bill of indictment against James Duke of York, which was then before them, was prevented from being proceeded upon'. (Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices* (1874), ii. 268.) See also *An Exact Collection of the Debates of the*

House of Commons, Westminster Oct. 21, 1680. and Commons' Journals, Oct.-Dec. 1680, ix, 688 f.

l. 13. *a Presentment that hath pleased the whole Kingdom.* See pp. 95-6, and Introd., p. lv.

l. 20. *some short plain Authentick Tract.* Perhaps as a result of this suggestion of Swift's—if we may judge by the title—a volume containing this information was published in Dublin in 1725. It was entitled: *Seasonable Advice: or, an Infallible Guide to Grand and Petty Juries setting forth The Antiquity of their Original, with a Compleat History of the Whole. The Bounds and Extent of their Power, Great and Noble Privileges. How and Which Way THEY should Behave. What Penalties and Offences they are liable to &c. Shewn in many Examples. Collected from the Common-Law, Statutes, &c.* The texts that adorn the title-page might well have been provided by Swift himself. They are all taken from Ecclesiastes and Proverbs; the most significant are the following:

'If the Spirit of a Ruler rise up against thee, leave not thy Place.' Eccles. x. 4.

'As a roaring Lyon, and a ranging Bear, so is a wicked Ruler over the poor People.' Prov. xxviii. 15.

The paragraph concerning the former punishment of false judges was very pointed. 'Presentments were made against Chancellours, Judges, &c. for breaking their Oath, *Mir.* 144. There were 44 Judges hanged in one Year for wrongful Judgments, *Mir.* 296, &c. And says the same Book, it's an Abuse, that all things are not so now, 295. . . . But now the Law seems clear otherwise, we have little or no Punishment against Chancellours, Judges, Councillors, Attornies, Clerks, Witnesses, &c. yet were Juries *then* so cautious, as aforesaid, with and against them, where *now* therefore how many times more Jealous and Cautious have they Reason, and should they be' (p. 51).

l. 30. *I have read somewhere of an Eastern King.* This story is given in fuller detail in a *Fourth Letter To the Right Honourable* — (see Appendix II, p. 369): 'Cambyzes the King of Persia caus'd Sysamnes a Judge to be Flead, and put to Death; and a Cushion to be made of his Skin (which was Dressed with a great deal of Curiosity for the Purpose) for the Bench

where he Sate, and that the Example might have a greater Influence upon the Successor, and that the Father's Skin might be a perpetual Monitor of Justice to him, he prefer'd *Otanes* his Son to his Place.' Cf. Herodotus, v. 25.

P. 115, l. 11. *that commendable Acuteness into the Courts of Judicature.* Cf. Campbell's comment on Sir W. Scroggs: 'he swelled the number of his delinquencies by an attack on the liberty of the press, which was more violent than any that had ever been attempted by the Star Chamber, and which, if it had been acquiesced in, would have effectually established despotism in this country. . . . The object was to put down all free discussion, and all complaints against misrule, by having, in addition to a licenser, a process of *injunction* against printing,—to be summarily enforced, without the intervention of a jury, by fine, imprisonment, pillory, and whipping.' (*Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 264.)

P. 116, l. 22. *Directions from England.* Swift evidently felt at this time that the only safeguard against Wood's coin was to continue the boycott, since there seemed to be no likelihood of any further action being taken by the English government. All the best-informed quarters in Dublin seem to have shared this view. See Letter from Lord Middleton to Thomas Brodrick, dated March 15, 1724–5: 'Now I am pretty well convinced, that the satisfaction (which Mr. S. and others in London had written was ordered to be given to Ireland) meant no more then letting matters remain quiet till the meeting of the parliament; and I cannot but think that all hands have been at work to incline men to think it will be advisable to go on in the ordinary course of granting supplies, without an actual surrender of the patent, or taking the least notice there ever had been such a thing in the world.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 415.)

l. 27. *my Brethren, the Makers of Songs and Ballads.* See Appendix III for a list of the songs and ballads written at the time by Swift and his brethren. The following paper was also probably written about this time, and may serve as an example of the lighter vein in which the 'gleanings of the controversy' were gathered up. For further particulars, see Appendix II,

p. 371. The text is printed from a photostat of the copy in the Wagner collection:

TOM PUNSIBI'S DREAM

Ἄ γὰρ προσεῖδον νυκτὶ τῇδε φάσματα
 Δισσῶν ονειρων, ταῦτά μοι——
 Εἰ μὲν πεφηνεν ἔσθλα, δὸς τελεσφορα:
 Εἶδ' ἐχθρα, τοῖς ἐχθροῖσιν ἐμπαλιν μεθεσ
 Καὶ μή με πλουτοῦ τοῦ παρόντος εἰ τίνας
 Δόλοισι βουλευοῦσιν ἐκβαλεῖν ἐφῆς. Soph. Elec.

SINCE the Heat of this Business, which has of late so much and so justly concerned this Kingdom, is at last, in a great Measure over, we may venture to abate something of our former Zeal and Vigour in handling it, and looking upon it as an Enemy almost overthrown, consult more our own Amusement than its Prejudice, in attacking it in light excursive Skirmishes. Thus much I thought fit to observe, lest the World should be too apt to make an obvious Pun upon me; when beginning to dream upon this Occasion, I presented it with the wild nocturnal Rovings of an unguided Imagination, on a Subject of so great Importance, as the final Welfare or Ruin of a whole Nation.

But so it was, that upon reading one of the *Drapier's* Letters, I fell asleep, and had the following Dream.

The first Object that struck me was a Woman of exquisite Beauty, and a most majestick Air, seated on a Throne, whom by the Figure of a Lion beneath her Feet, and of *Neptune*, who stood by her, and paid her the most respectful Homage, I easily knew to be the Genius of *E—d*; at some Distance from her, (tho' not at so great an one as seem'd to be desir'd,) I observ'd a Matron cloth'd in Robes so tatter'd and torn, that they had not only very nigh lost their original Air of Royalty and Magnificence, but even expos'd her to the Inclemency of the Weather in several Places, which with many other Afflictions had so affected her, that her natural Beauty was almost effac'd, and her Strength and Spirits very nigh lost. She hung over a Harp with which, if she sometimes endeavour'd to sooth her Melancholly, she had still the Misfortune to find it more or less out of Tune, particularly, when as I perceiv'd at last, it was strung with a

Sort of Wyre of so base Composition, that neither she or I cou'd make any Thing of it. I took particular Notice, that, when mov'd by a just Sense of her Wrongs, she cou'd at any Time raise her Head. She fix'd her Eyes so stedfastly on her Neighbour, sometimes with an humble and intreating, at others, with a more bold and resentful Regard, that I could not help (however improbable it shou'd seem from her generous august Appearance) in a great Measure to attribute her Misfortunes to her; but this I shall submit to the Judgment of the World.

I should now at last mention the Name, were not these Circumstances too unhappily singular to make that any Way necessary.

As I was taken up with many melancholy Reflections on this moving Object, I was on a suddain interrupted by a little Sort of an Uproar, which, upon turning my Eyes towards it, I found arose from a Crowd of People behind her Throne; the Cause it seems was this.

There was, I perceiv'd, among them the God of Merchandise, with his Sandals, mostly of *Brass*, but not without a small Proportion of *Gold* and *Silver*, and his Wings chiefly of the two latter Metals, but allay'd with a little of the former; with those he us'd to trudge up and down to furnish them with Necessaries; with these he'd take a Flight to other Countries, but not so dextrously or to so good Purpose as in other Places of his Office, not so much for want of Encouragement among 'em here, as on account of the haughty Jealousy of their Neighbours, who, it seems dreading in them a Rival, took Care to clip his Wings and circumscribe his Flights; the former, more especially, being, by these and other Means so much worn, he perform'd his Office but lamely, which gave Occasion to some who had their own private Interest more at Heart, than that of the Publick, to patch up some of the Places that were worn, with a Metal of the same Nature indeed, but so slight and base, that tho' at first it might serve to carry him on their Errands, it soon fail'd, and by Degrees grew intirely useless; insomuch, that he would rather be retarded than promoted in his Business, and this occasion'd the above Disturbance among his Dependants, who thereupon turn'd their Eyes towards their Mistress (for by this Time she will I presume be better known by that, than the more homely and sociable

Name of Neighbour) and not daring of late to say or do any Thing without her Approbation, made several humble Applications to her, beseeching that she wou'd continue them that Liberty of re-fitting these Implements themselves, which she had been formerly pleas'd graciously to allow 'em; but these, however reasonable, were all rejected, whereupon I observ'd a certain Person (a mean ill looking Fellow) from among a great Number of People that stood behind the Genius of *E—d* who, during the whole Affair had kept his Eyes intently fix'd on his Neighbours, watching all their Motions, like a *Hawk* hovering over his Quarry, and with just the same Design: Him, I say, I observed to turn off hastily, and make towards the Throne, where being arriv'd, after some Preparations requisite, he prefer'd a Petition, setting forth the Wants and Necessities, (but taking Care to make 'em appear at least four Times greater than they really were) of his Neighbours, or as he might have more truly and honestly said his own, both which, for the latter, tho' not express'd, he chiefly intended, but modestly or rather knavishly left to be understood, he begg'd the Royal License to redress, by supplying those Defects which were the Occasion of 'em. This humble Suppliant I observ'd both before and after this Petition, seem'd to employ his utmost Industry and Art, to insinuate himself into the good Graces of two Persons that stood on each Side the Throne; the one on the Right was a Lady of a large Make and swarthy Complexion; the other, a Man, that seem'd to be between Fifty and Sixty, who had an Air of deep designing Thought: These two he manag'd with a great deal of Art; for the Lady he employ'd all the little Arts that win her Sex, particularly, I observ'd, that he frequently took hold of her Hand, as in Raptures, to kiss it, in such a Manner as made me suspect she did not always draw it back empty; but this he did so slily, that it was not easy for any Body to be certain of it: The Man on the other Hand, he ply'd his own Way with Politicks, remonstrating to him the several Things he had before the Throne; which however, as might be presum'd from his Manner of attending to them, seem'd to make little Impression; but when he came to lay before him the great Advantages that might accrue from thence to their Mistress, and consequently to him, he heard him with the utmost Eagerness and Satisfaction; at last, having plainly told

him, that he himself should be a considerable Gainer by it, and thereupon, that every thing that came to his Hands of that Nature should be at his Service: As a Sort of Token or Earnest he kiss'd his Hand in the same Manner he had the Lady's, and so retir'd; by these and the like Means he soon brought over both Parties to him, who, with a Whisper or two, procur'd him the Royal License; whereupon he immediately fell to making up a Metal, if it deserv'd the Name, of a very strange Composition, where-with he purpos'd to re-fit the Implements of that useful Deity, but in such a Manner, that for that base Metal he put into them, he would take Care to draw away from them an infinitely more than proportionable Quantity of Gold and Silver, and thereby render him almost incapable of taking Flight to foreign Countries; nay, at last perhaps utterly so, when under Pretence of their not being compleated, he should filch in more of his Metal, and filch away more of theirs.

These Things being therefore prepar'd, he sends 'em over to his Neighbours, and there endeavour'd to get them admitted by fair Words and Promises, being too sensible that they were not of themselves the most willing to accept of his Favour, and indeed he was not deceiv'd; for they being advertis'd of his Designs, had taken the Alarm, and had almost to a Man united in one common Faction against him. This generous Ardour had first taken hold of the most active and important Part, and if I may be allow'd to call it, the Heart of this Body, from thence was on one Side by a quick Passage, and in its more refin'd Parts, communicated thro' the Blood to the contemplative, and reasoning, the Head, which it inspir'd with noble Thoughts and Resolutions; and on the other, to the inferior Extremities, which were thereby rend'red more expedite and readier to obey the Dictates of the Head in a rougher Method of Opposition, from each of which Extremities being carry'd back to its Fountain, it was return'd to them from thence, and so backwards and forwards, 'till the Circulation and Union were confirm'd and compleated, the sordid unnatural, offensive Parts being in the mean Time thrown off as Dreggs of Nature, and Nuisances of humane Society; but of these in so well temper'd a Constitution, there were but few; however, when there were any to be found, tho' they had been of the most exalted Nature, and bore most noble Offices in this Body, by any Cor-

ruption became so, they shar'd the common Fate, with this only Difference, that they were rejected with greater Scorn and Contempt on Account of their former Dignity, as was found in one notorious Instance; but on the other hand, among all the parts that were serviceable to the Constitution on this Occasion, there was not one more so, than a certain one whose Name indeed is not openly known, but whose good Offices and Usefulness are too great ever to be forgotten; for it by its nice Diligence and Skill selected out Things of the most noble and exquisite Nature, by infusing and dispersing them to enliven and invigorate the whole Body, which how effectually they did, our bold Projector sadly experienc'd. For finding all his Endeavours to pass his Ware upon them, disappointed, he withdrew; but his Patron on the other side being inform'd of what had pass'd, fell into a most terrible Passion, and threatned, they say, I know not what, of making to swallow and ramming down Throats; but while they were in deep Conference together, methought all on a suddain a Trap-door drop'd, and down fell our Projector; this unexpected Accident did on many Accounts not a little alarm the Throne, and gave it but too great Occasion to reflect a little on what had been doing, as what a mean ordinary Fellow it had intrusted with the Care of an Affair of so great Consequence that tho' their Neighbours Refusal might possibly have put him to such Streights as might be the great Occasion of this Disgrace, yet that very Refusal could not be so universal and resolute without some Reason, which could arise from Nothing else but the Unseasonableness or Unworthyness of his Offers, or both, and he, consequently, must deserve as much to suffer as they did; not for the better Information, therefore in these Surmises some of the Neighbours were consulted, who confirming them, Things seem'd to bear a good Face, and be in a very fair Way of clearing up. When I awoke, I cannot say whether more pleas'd at the present Posture of Affairs, when I recollected how indifferent an one they had lately been in, or anxious when upon considering that they were not yet firm and settled, I was led to reflect in general on the uncertainty of Events, and in particular, on the small Reason the Persons in hand can have to promise themselves prosperous ones, especially when they are depending in that Part of the World.

P. 117, l. 19. *Hobs, Filmer, Bodin*. See note to p. 108, l. 7. Swift's annotated copy of Bodin, *Les six Livres de la République* (Paris, 1576), is in the Yale College Library. On the title-page is the signature *Jon. Swift 1709*; and on the inner side of the cover is pasted an autograph note, signed *Jonath Swift, April 2, 1725*:

'This Author was a Man of very great Reading, he excells in setting the Arguments on both sides of a Question in the strongest Light: but often (in my Judgment) decides wrong. He handles Government too much like a Lawyer, and grossly mistakes that of England. He shews some Inconveniencies in Aristocracies and Democracies as necessary, which are easily avoydable. He seems not to have considered the Nature of representing many by few. His Royall Monarchy, which he proposeth as the most Perfect Government is visionary, unless every Country were sure to have always a good King, for he leaves the absolute Power of making and annulling Laws in the Will of the Sovereign, although a single Person, contrary to the Judgment of the wisest Writers upon Government. His whimsicall Discourses upon Astrology and the Influence of the Starrs upon human Nature, together with his Digressions upon the Power of Numbers and Harmony are not I think to be otherwise accounted for than by some odd Turn in the Author's Brain, or a Vanity to shew his Acquaintance with Sciences out of his Way.'

There is also a number of comments written in pencil on about twenty-eight pages of the text, chiefly expressing disapproval; e.g. *le sot, sotise, mensonge, le coquin*, this latter being reserved for the following sentence: 'vous estimez la liberté, et l'égalité: mais nous estimons la plus belle chose du monde, de reverer, servir, et adorer nostre Roy, comme l'image du Dieu vivant.' (p. 235.)

Advertisement to the Reader.

P. 121, l. 2. *Oct. 26th. 1724*, This date is repeated at the end of *Letter VI*, but the letter can hardly have been written then—certainly not completed—as the Proclamation is quoted, and it was not issued until Oct. 27th. See *Intro.*, p. xlvii.

l. 7. *his Name subscribed at the End*. This letter was certainly written with the intention of disclosing the Drapier's identity. It seems likely, however, that after Archbishop King's

visit to the Lord Lieutenant, Swift was advised not to publish it, and as Dr. Ball suggests—*Corr.* iii. 224 n.—it is very improbable that Lord Middleton ever saw it.

l. 18. *I procured a Copy.* This is an additional mystification, added in the later issues. See *Intro.*, p. xciii.

l. 23. *written during the first Session of Parliament.* See *Intro.*, p. lxii.

LETTER VI

P. 123, l. 1. *Lord Chancellor Middleton.* 'During the ten years that he occupied the Irish woolsack, Lord Middleton was denounced perpetually either by one party or the other, and according to popular rumour was in momentary danger of being superseded. Apart from the difficulty of reconciling his Irish friends to the measures of the government, his position was a complicated one owing to the fact that he was in the anomalous circumstances of being as well as Chancellor of Ireland a member of the British House of Commons, which involved him in the controversies of that assembly.' (*Corr.* iii. 65 n.)

At the moment of Carteret's arrival in Dublin he was in a particularly awkward position. His family had been in close relationship with Carteret, who evidently hoped to use Middleton's influence to bring about some compromise over the Patent. But Middleton was himself convinced of the dangers of it, and fully aware of the solid opposition of all parties in Ireland. He had signed the Proclamation against *Letter IV* only because he agreed that the Drapier had gone too far in touching the question of Irish dependency. But his attitude towards Archbishop King and Swift is clear from the following letter to Thomas Brodrick, dated Nov. 17, 1724: '... I make no doubt but that hot headed libel [*Letter to the Whole People of Ireland*] is handed about by Mr. Wood and his friends among the members of parliament, and probably will raise such resentment as may turn to the prejudice of this Kingdome, if care be not taken to have it understood, that the Kingdome is in no sort of the mind of the author or his patron, [Archbishop of Dublin] whom I have pointed out in that letter. The kingdome hath received, and probably may

receive more damage by the politicks and wrangling of those two men, than it would have been in the power of its worst enemys to have brought upon it, without the assistance of indiscreet and seditious pamphleteers; but sure their follyes and crimes are not to be placed to the nation's account.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 402.) This bold stroke of Swift's was clearly planned to challenge Midleton to remain firm against Carteret's influence, and at the same time to challenge the authority of the government by appearing thus openly before the Lord Chancellor as Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. (See O'Flanagan, *The Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, ii. 27 f.; Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 376 f.)

l. 8. *I was at your House upon a Commission.* See *Intro.*, p. xxiii.

l. 16. *after many Years Intermission.* There had been an estrangement between Swift and Midleton as a result of the latter's zeal against Waters, the printer of the *Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures*. See *Corr.* iii. 65 and 115.

l. 17. *your Son wrote two Letters from London.* I have not seen these letters nor do I know to whom they were written. Coxe prints only a series of letters from St. John Brodrick to Lord Midleton, written between January and May 1723/4. From these it is evident that he had long conversations with Walpole about the Patent, but although he was anxious to keep on good terms with him ('I can't but think W—— must prevail, and for that reason endeavour to be as well with him as I can'. *Walpole*, ii. 386), he seems to have constantly opposed Wood's 'vile project', and emphasized to Carteret the strength of the solid opposition which had been aroused in Ireland. In a letter from Bristol, dated May 10, 1724, he says: 'Yesterday I received your Lordship's of the 26th and 28th April, which I immediately forwarded to my uncle to be laid before Lord Carteret, that he might be sure to have a true account of what past lately in council about the halfpence. I am very glad that vile project meets with so much opposition in Ireland, which I beleive will have a good effect here; tho' at the same time, I must tell you my opinion, that if any body *on behalf of Ireland*, had appear'd at a certain place, which I know was both expected and desir'd by Wood and his accomplices, it would only have furnisht some

people with a plausible excuse for doing what they were in all events determin'd to do; whereas now all the world thinks and says the hearing was only *ex parte*. This I find is not understood by some of our freinds in Ireland, by one of whom, I and all of that countrey in London, were taxt with *supine negligence*, in not endeavouring to oppose the proceedings before the council, of which I do not think one of us had the least notice, till we read the Daily Courant; tho' if we had, I fancy we should have acted in just the same manner. You may be sure lord C—— has been fully talkt to on this subject, and as he is perfectly free from all suspicion of being concerned in, or wishing well to this base project, you may depend upon his doing what becomes him.' (Ibid., ii. 391–2.)

P. 124, l. 15. *an Affair of State*. See note on p. 104, l. 12.

l. 36. *Lord Wharton*. Another indication that 'hardly conveys the impression that Swift saw Wharton so seldom or so distantly as he states in the *Memoirs relating to the Change in the Queen's Ministry* (*Works*, v. 382).' See *Corr.* i. 168 n.

P. 125, l. 3. *Lord Chief Justice Whitshed*. See note on p. 101, l. 14. The following *Verses occasioned by Whitshed's Motto on his Coach* seem to have been written later after the dissolving of the Grand Jury in November, 1724:

Libertas et natale solum:

Fine words! I wonder where you stole 'em.

Could nothing but thy chief reproach

Serve for a motto on thy coach?

But let me now the words translate:

Natale solum, my estate;

My dear estate, how well I love it,

My tenants, if you doubt, will prove it,

They swear I am so kind and good,

I hug them till I squeeze their blood.

Libertas bears a large import:

First, how to swagger in a court;

And, secondly, to show my fury

Against an uncomplying jury;

And, thirdly, 'tis a new invention,

To favour Wood, and keep my pension;

And, fourthly, 'tis to play an odd trick,
 Get the great seal and turn out Broderick;
 And, fifthly, (you know whom I mean,)
 To humble that vexatious Dean:
 And, sixthly, for my soul to barter it
 For fifty times its worth to Carteret.
 Now since your motto thus you construe,
 I must confess you've spoken once true.
Libertas et natale solum:
 You had good reason when you stole 'em.

(*Aldine*, iii. 97.)

P. 126, l. 1. *highly reflecting upon His Majesty, &c.* Quoted from the *Proclamation*, see p. 263. This quotation and the reference to the names, 'which I saw subscribed to the Proclamation' (p. 131, l. 24) indicate that the letter must have been written after Oct. 27.

l. 19. *the Duke of Grafton, and Mr. Walpole*: The two people concerned, whose antagonism to Middleton was generally known or suspected. In a letter to Walpole, dated Dec. 19, 1723, Grafton had spoken openly: 'If, sir, I am so happy as to have your concurrence as to the necessity of a new chancellor, I beseech you to make an early choice of a proper person. It may not possibly much import the king's service, whether this change be made some months sooner or later after the conclusion of the session; but when I assure you, that my honour, credit, and reputation depend upon its being done before I leave the kingdom, I am persuaded you will not be indifferent, of which you have been pleas'd to give me so kind an assurance in your letter of the 3d of October. It is the common topick of all companys here, that this event will show who has the most credit at St. James's, my lord chancellor or my lord lieutenant.' (Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 356.) And it was probably due to the king's influence and not to Walpole's that Grafton did not get his way. (See also *Intro.*, p. xv.)

l. 27. *in several News-Papers.* See note to p. 85, l. 15.

P. 127, l. 7. *to make a Speech directly against me.* See *Journal to Stella*, Dec. 18, 1711: "There was printed a Grub Street speech of Lord Nottingham; and he was such an owl to complain

of it in the House of Lords, who have taken up the printer for it. I heard at court, that Walpole (a great Whig member) said, that I and my whimsical club writ it at one of our meetings, and that I should pay for it.' Jan. 17, 1711/12: 'Those of our Society of the House of Commons could not be with us, the House sitting late on Walpool. . . . I hope Walpool will be sent to the Tower, and expelled the house; but this afternoon the members I spoke with in the Court of Requests talked dubiously of it.' (*Works*, ii. 302, 320.)

l. 26. *Letters under his Hand*. See note to p. 85, l. 4.

P. 128, l. 26. *wild Irish*. See note to p. 81, l. 24.

l. 30. *Pepper-hara*. Lord Midleton's seat in Surrey. Midleton came of a Surrey family, and was a member of the English House of Commons for Midhurst, 1714-28.

P. 129, l. 1. *Lurry*, a dialect word, meaning 'hubbub'. Cf. *Journal to Stella*, Mar. 4, 1710/11: 'when this Parliament lurry is over, I will endeavour to steal away;' (*Works*, ii. 131.)

P. 130, l. 21. *108000 l.* Actually £100,800; see note to p. 4, ll. 22-3.

P. 131, l. 18. *if it be a Mistake*. Swift refers constantly to the Address of the Privy Council throughout the letters. (See p. xxx.) Only here in writing to the Lord Chancellor, as it had never been actually promulgated, he is careful to limit himself with ironical accuracy to the statement that he had been informed that they had sent an Address to his Majesty against Mr. Wood's coin.

P. 132, l. 3. *in one of his former Pamphlets*. See *Letter I*, p. 14.

l. 26. *That which, I am told, gives greatest Offence*. See *Letter IV*, p. 79 and *Letter V*, p. 107, l. 7.

P. 133, l. 10. *wicked and malicious*. See *Proclamation*, p. 265.

P. 134, l. 3. *Project for a Bank in Ireland*. Swift wrote several pamphlets ridiculing the whole project: see *Works*, vii. 31 f. and Monck Mason, *St. Patrick's*, p. 325, note t. Cf. also Swift's letter to Archbishop King, dated Sept. 28, 1721: 'I hear you are likely to be the sole opposer of the bank, and you will certainly miscarry, because it would prove a most perfidious thing. Bankrupts are always for setting up banks; how then can

you think a bank will fail of a majority in both Houses?' (*Corr.* iii. 101.)

l. 21. *Sir Edward Coke*. See *Letter I*, p. 1, and *note*. The investigation of Coke's Reports undertaken in 1616 at the instigation of King James I was particularly concerned with his handling of the royal prerogative. Cf. the king's letter to the Judges, quoted among the letters of the Lord Chancellor Bacon: 'Whereas in the time of the late lord chancellor intimation was given unto us, that divers cases were published in Sir Edward Coke's Reports, tending to the prejudice of our prerogative royal;' &c. (Bacon, *Works*, 1841, ii. 272.)

P. 135, l. 3. *Lord Sommers, the greatest Man I ever knew of your Robe*. Swift seems to return here to his first opinion of Lord Somers—'Their next great man was Aristides. . . he was a person of the strictest justice, and best acquainted with the laws as well as forms of their government, so that he was in a manner Chancellor of Athens.' (*Discourse on the Contests and Dissensions* &c., *Works*, i. 242.) In the dedication of the *Tale of a Tub* he is even more emphatically singled out as the greatest man of the age. (*Ibid.*, pp. 26–8.) Later in 1708 Swift was closely associated with Somers in connexion with the matter of the First Fruits, and perhaps it was at this time that the conversation here referred to took place. Not long afterwards Swift attacked Somers violently in the *Examiner*, no. 26, for Feb. 1, 1711. But again in 1719, even in a letter to Bolingbroke, dated Dec. 19, he includes Somers among the greatest geniuses of the century, from Bacon on to the noble lord he is addressing, though he notices a difference in Somers from all the rest, which he evidently despised: 'his timorous nature, joined with the trade of a common lawyer, and the consciousness of a mean extraction, had taught him the regularity of an alderman, or a gentleman-usher.' (*Corr.* iii. 41.)

l. 23. *Printer prosecuted and convicted*. Waters, the printer of Swift's earlier *Proposal*, and the victim of Whitshed's violence. See *Letter V*, p. 111, l. 29; and *note* to p. 101, l. 14.

l. 27. *preach to the People under my Inspection*. See *Doing Good: A Sermon, on the occasion of Wood's Project*, particularly the following passage: 'Perhaps it may be thought by some, that this

way of discoursing is not so proper from the pulpit. But surely, when an open attempt is made, and far carried on, to make a great kingdom one large poorhouse, to deprive us of all means to exercise hospitality or charity, to turn our cities and churches into ruins, to make the country a desert for wild beasts and robbers, to destroy all arts and sciences, all trades and manufactures, and the very tillage of the ground, only to enrich one obscure ill-designing projector, and his followers; it is time for the pastor to cry out that the wolf is getting into his flock, to warn them to stand together, and all to consult the common safety. And God be praised for His infinite goodness in raising such a spirit of union among us, at least in this point, in the midst of all our former divisions; which union, if it continue, will, in all probability, defeat the pernicious design of this pestilent enemy to the nation.' (*Works*, iv. 185).

1. 34. *Chief Justice Holt*. Appointed Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in England, April 17, 1689, he continued in this office until his death on March 5, 1709/10. He gained a great reputation among his contemporaries for integrity and fairness.

'He was a Man of profound Knowledge of the Laws of his Country, and as just an Observer of 'em in his own Person. He considered Justice as a Cardinal Virtue, not as a Trade for Maintenance. Where-ever he was Judge, he never forgot that he was also Counsel. The Criminal before him was always sure he stood before his Country, and, in a Sort, a Parent of it. The Prisoner knew, that tho' his Spirit was broken with Guilt, and incapable of Language to defend it self, all would be gathered from him which could conduce to his Safety; and that his Judge would wrest no Law to destroy him, nor conceal any that could save him.' (*Tatler*, no. xiv, May 12, 1709.) See also Campbell, *Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 403 f.

P. 136, l. 6. *Sir George Rooke*. The well-known admiral who captured Gibraltar in 1704. He lived at St. Laurence, near Canterbury. I do not know when this trial took place, but there is an indication of his temper in a letter to him, when he was Captain of the *Holmes*, from the Navy Office, Sept. 26, 1674/5: 'He has done very well in advising him of the master of the

merchantman's insolent denial of paying the respect due to his Majesty's ship, for which he will be called to a strict account by the lords; but the writer hopes he will have nothing to retort against any of his officers or company for violence or ill language, a fault which is often found to be the occasion of this sort of neglect in merchantmen.' (*Cat. of Pepysian MSS.*, ed Tanner, Navy Records Soc., 1904, ii. 361.)

l. 19. *I have read, or heard, a Passage of Signior Leti.* Swift had probably read this story in the *Memoirs of the Court of Charles the Second* by Count Grammont: 'On another occasion Gregorio Leti, a voluminous historical writer, who had been promised the place of historiographer to the English court, was introduced to Charles, and graciously received by him. One day at his levee the king said to him, "Leti, I hear that you are writing the history of the Court of England." Leti acknowledged that he was collecting materials for such a work. "Take care, then," said the king, "that it gives no offence." "Sir," replied Leti, "I will do what I can, but if a man were as wise as Solomon, he would scarcely be able to avoid giving offence." "Why, then," rejoined the king, "be as wise as Solomon; write proverbs, not histories."' (London 1846, p. 449.) Cf. also Ellis Farnsworth: 'Leti himself was an *Italian* of a considerable family, born at *Milan*, in the year 1630. After he had travelled thro' *Savoy* and *France*, he came into *England*, where he was well receiv'd by *K. Charles II*, and had a promise of being made his Historiographer; but meeting with some disappointment, he went to *Amsterdam* in 1682, and was chosen Historian for that City. His works are very numerous, as may be seen in the account given of them by *Moreri*.' (Preface to his translation of Leti's *Life of Pope Sixtus the Fifth*, London 1754, p. viii.)

P. 137, l. 4. *when the Addresses from both Houses of Parliament . . . failed of Success.* It was only at this moment that Swift had interfered and started the boycott against Wood. See *Introd.*, p. xxiii.

P. 138, l. 9. *my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed.* See note to p. 101, l. 14.

l. 34. *108000 Pound.* See note to p. 130, l. 21.

P. 139, l. 14. *Poining's Act.* See note to p. 51, l. 23.

P. 140, l. 28. *more Papers been written*. See Appendixes II and III.

P. 141, l. 22. *the Madman in Don Quixote*. This story occurs in the *Author's Prologue to the Reader*, in the Second Part of the History of Don Quixote.

Swift evidently read Shelton's translation; for in that only is the word *Spaniell* used in the translation of this passage. See *Don Quixote* (Tudor Translations), London 1896, iii. 7.

l. 32. *an eminent Lawyer*. Probably Robert Lindsay; see note to p. 63, l. 12.

P. 142, l. 15. *I will go and whisper among the Reeds*. If we may judge by Swift's actual phraseology here, he seems to have in mind Dryden's version of Chaucer's story; see *The Wife of Bath her Tale*, ll. 182-200.

LETTER VII

P. 145, l. 1. *AN HUMBLE ADDRESS*. For particulars and circumstances under which this letter was written see Introd., p. lxii. It is no longer concerned only with Wood's coin; it includes speculations upon the cultivating and improvement of land, which seem to have been originally intended as a separate discourse—see p. 171, l. 4—a repetition of some of the arguments contained in *A Proposal for the universal Use of Irish Manufactures*, and a consideration of some of the other causes of the misery of Ireland, such as the great number of rich absentees, and the practice of giving all valuable employments to Englishmen.

l. 17. *For setting the Poor to Work*. In the meantime, while advocating Parliamentary action, Swift had worked with considerable success a private scheme of his own. In his speech to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin, who brought him his Freedom in 1729, he refers to it: 'That being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased

to bless his endeavours, that his managers tell him he hath recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life.' (*Works*, vii. 171.) Cf. also a pamphlet entitled *Enquiries into the Principal Causes of the General Poverty of the Common People of Ireland. With Remedies Propos'd for Removing of Them*, Dublin 1725 (Y.C.L.), containing proposals for the establishment of 'Lombards' to provide money at cheap rates.

l. 30. *Wood's Confederates*. See *Introd.*, pp. xiv ff.

l. 31. *UNDERTAKERS*. Sir W. Scott notes: 'This was a phrase used in the time of Charles II., to express those dashing ministers who obtained power by undertaking to carry through particular favourite measures of the crown. But the Dean applies it with his usual studied ambiguity, so that it may be explained as meaning schemers or projectors in general.' It may be added that there were few words with so many unpleasant associations, especially in Ireland. Its varied significance is fully illustrated in the following passage from Bacon's *Speech delivered in the Lower House when the House was in great heat, and much troubled about the undertakers, in the Parliament 12 Jacobi*: 'I have heard of undertakings in several kinds. There were undertakers for the plantations of Derry and Coleraine in Ireland, the better to command and bridle those parts. There were, not long ago, some undertakers for the north-west passage; and now there are some undertakers for the project of dyed and dressed clothes; and, in short, every novelty useth to be strengthened and made good by a kind of undertaking: but for the ancient parliament of England, which moves in a certain manner and sphere, to be undertaken; it passes my reach to conceive what it should be.' See *Works* (1841), i. 497.

P. 146, l. 31. *Bacon mentions a Sort of People*. Cf. *Of Wisdom for a Man's Self*. 'And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set a house on fire, and it were but to roast their own eggs.' *Ibid.*, p. 280.

P. 147, l. 24. *a great Minister gone to his own Place*. This was Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, who had died in 1722. Swift had first met him at Moor Park (see *Corr.* i. 87 n. 2), and had made use of this acquaintance to obtain access to the

Lord Treasurer, to further his mission on behalf of the Irish Church in 1708. (See *Corr.* i. 92-3.) He seems at one time to have hoped for preferment from Sunderland, but must have discovered, as his remark here indicates, that Sunderland was chiefly concerned, as far as he took any part in Irish affairs, to strengthen the Protestant interest, by giving all important offices to Englishmen. Cf. Froude, *English in Ireland*, i. 320.

P. 148, l. 5. *GRAND COMPOUNDERS*. Sir W. Scott: 'Alluding to Sir Robert Walpole's overture'. This was the recommendation of the Report that Wood should be allowed only to coin £40,000. See p. 224.

l. 7. *But that the same Spirit still subsists*. Cf. letter from Lord Middleton to Thomas Brodrick, dated Mar. 15, 1724/5: 'I have good reasons to be strong of opinion (which I confess I was not of till very lately) that it is not in their thoughts to give up the patent before the session, but fairly to try whether people can be cajolled or discoursed into the measures from the other side prescribed to us; and as far as I can judge, there are some people here who give hopes, that this scheme will succeed: but I own I am not of the number; yet cannot find reasons strong enough to think I have convinced a friend of your's, that things will not answer expectation.' See Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 415.

l. 10. *some late Proceedings in a Court of Judicature*. See *Introd.*, pp. l-lv.

P. 149, l. 1. (*as the Hawkers called Him*) *NOBODY*. I have not found any broadside or ballad to throw light upon this. But it may well mean Conolly, who had been introduced in Letter I. (See p. 8, l. 12 and *note*.) He was almost as unpopular as Whitshed at this time; for when the news came that the Patent had been resigned, we note that bonfires were made 'in the City, before the L. C——nly's House'. See *Dublin Post-Man*, Aug. 27, 1725.

l. 13. *Leasers and Gleaners*. Much in evidence in Ireland at this time. Cf. Molesworth: 'The custom of gleaning or "leasing" as it was called had spread so far as to be a real burden on the farmer, who found one-tenth or more of his crops carried off by the hordes of thieving mendicants, who plundered

before his eyes and were only to be driven off by main force.' *Some Considerations for the Promoting of Agriculture and Employing the Poor* (1723), pp. 32-3.

l. 27. *stigmatized by publick Censure*. The feeling against Whitshed had been so violent that Swift is probably justified in saying that it is the wish of the whole nation that he should be impeached. But Swift probably realized that there was little likelihood that this would be done.

P. 150, l. 5. *I WENT TOO FAR*. See *note* to p. 107, l. 5.

l. 10. *Proclamation*. See p. 265.

l. 12. *the poor printer*. The case against Harding had lapsed together with others when the second Grand Jury had refused to find a true Bill against *Seasonable Advice* at the end of the Michaelmas Term. He had died during the early part of 1725. See *note* to p. 17, l. 4.

P. 151, l. 5. *Grievances have always preceded Supplies*. Carteret had frequently intimated in his letters to Walpole that it would be difficult to carry on the business of the country unless the Patent was completely withdrawn; and both he and Boulter anticipated that supplies would not be voted unless this was done before the House met.

P. 152, l. 5. *of what Credit I have formerly shewn*. See *note* to p. 37, l. 6.

l. 9. *The Addresses of both Houses of Parliament, &c.* See *note* to p. 6, l. 15. From the Privy Council, see *note* to p. 26, l. 10. From the City of Dublin, see *note* to p. 95, l. 1: and other declarations, see *note* to p. 64, l. 1.

P. 153, l. 25. *where Papists have less Power, and less Land*. See Lecky, *Ireland*, i. 275 f. N.B. the following quotation from Nary's *The Case of the Roman Catholics of Ireland* (1724): 'At present, there is not one freeman or master of any corporation, nor of any other of the least charge (bating that of a petty constable), of the Roman Catholic religion in all the kingdom; neither are any of the tradesmen or shopkeepers of this religion suffered to work at their respective trades, or sell their goods in any of the cities of Ireland, except they pay exorbitant taxes, which they call quarterage, to the respective masters of their corporations;

and upon refusal of paying the same (because there is no law for it) they are sure to be summoned to take the oath of abjuration, in order to frighten them into compliance.' (Ibid., p. 276.) And concerning land, the following from *Some Considerations on the Laws which incapacitate Papists from purchasing Lands, &c.* (Dublin 1739, p. 16): 'it is confessed that there are not twenty Papists in Ireland who possess each £1,000 a year in land, and the estates belonging to others of a less yearly value are proportionately few.' (Ibid., p. 277.)

P. 154, l. 36. *in some Manner, the Voice of God.* It is difficult to pass this without a comment. In spite of the delightful qualification, it is a little startling to find the author of *The Legion Club* ever addressing the Irish Parliament like this, especially remembering the concluding lines:

I concluded, looking round them,
'May their god, the devil, confound them!'

P. 155, l. 5. *such a Resentment, as is worthy of a Parliament.* In spite of this brave appeal Swift was probably not very sure of the Parliament. In a letter to Worrall, dated Aug. 27, 1725, he says: 'I had lately a letter without a name, telling me that I have got a sop to hold my tongue, and that it is determined we must have that grievance, etc., forced on us. My intention is to return about the beginning of October, if my occasions do not hinder me. Before that time it will be seen how the Parliament will act. They who talk with me think they will be slaves as usual, and led where the government pleases.' (Corr. iii. 264.)

l. 8. *would grant Liberty to coin Half-pence.* See note to p. 20, l. 9.

l. 15. *for Bishop Burnet says.* It would be strange to find Swift quoting Bishop Burnet; actually he is of course twisting to his purpose Burnet's remark, in connexion with the treaty of Union, that the Scotch 'were to bear less than the fortieth part of the public taxes'. Elsewhere he says: 'Lord Tweeddale blamed Sir Francis Bacon much for laying it down as a maxim, that Scotland was to be reckoned as the third part of the island, and to be treated accordingly: whereas he assured me Scotland for numbers of people was not above a tenth part, and for wealth not

above a twentieth part of the island.' See *History of his own Time* (Edinb. 1753), i. 412; v. 317.

l. 28. *another very lately in France.* See note to p. 10, l. 23.

P. 157, l. 24. *to whose Treatise the Reader is referred.* This note, which Swift evidently inserted into the text in 1735, refers to *A List of the Absentees of Ireland, and the yearly value of their Estates and Incomes spent abroad* (Dublin 1729), by Thomas Prior.

P. 158, l. 34. *that Cæsar said.* Cf. Plutarch's *Life of Cæsar*: 'In this journey it is reported, that passing over the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a little poore village that had not many households, and yet poore cottages. There his friends that did accompany him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any strife there amongst the noble men for honor. *Cæsar* speaking in good earnest, answered: I cannot tell that sayd he, but for my part, I had rather be the chieftest man here, then the second person in Rome.' (North, 1610, p. 717.) Cf. *Letters to Ford*, p. 98.

This is an admirable indication of Swift's own attitude, fully accounting for his continued residence in Ireland, in spite of his complaints. It is perhaps doubtful whether he was ever seriously tempted by the proposals made by his friends to exchange the deanery for a living in England. See *Corr.* iv. 320, &c.

P. 159, l. 19. *certain Proceedings.* This refers to the Annesley case (see *Lords' Journals*, ii. 655 f.), which led to the Act of Parliament, passed in England in 1719, which asserted the subjection of the Parliament of Ireland to the English Parliament in the most emphatic terms, and also denied all power of appellate jurisdiction to the Irish House of Lords. See Lecky, *Ireland*, i. 447 f.

l. 33. *the painted Chamber.* A chamber in the old Palace of Westminster, in which in early times Parliament often assembled; its walls were painted with a series of battle scenes. See Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (1875), xx. 748.

Court of Requests. 'A kind of hall used chiefly by those who attend the parliament to walk in.' Entick, *London* (1766), iv. 421. In the *Journal to Stella* Swift constantly refers to his habit

of going there 'a-minister-of-state-hunting' or 'merely to find a dinner'. See *Works*, ii. 126, 175, &c.

l. 36. *the Peers of Scotland*. This paragraph is a repetition of Swift's famous attack on the Scotch peers in *The Public Spirit of the Whigs* (1714), which was condemned in the House of Lords as 'a false, malicious, and factious libel, highly dishonourable to her majesty's subjects of Scotland', and a reward of £300 offered for the discovery of the author. N.B. especially 'Their nobility is indeed so numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them according to the dignity of their titles; . . . I could point out some with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for dissolving the Union, though their whole revenues before that period would have ill maintained a Welsh justice of the peace; and have since gathered more money than ever any Scotchmen, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.' See *Works*, v. 337-8.

P. 160, l. 28. *supernumerary Pretenders to Offices*. See note to p. 73, l. 15.

l. 30. *like Birds of Passage*. There is an echo of this phrase in Swift's letter to Tickell, written about a month later, dated July 19, 1725: 'I have often thought it a monstrous folly in us, who are tied to this kingdom, to have any friendship with *vous autres*, who are birds of passage, while we are sure to be forsaken like young wenches who are seduced by soldiers that quarter among them for a few months.' *Corr.* iii. 255, and *note*. If Tickell had seen this paragraph he might have felt that the implications of the phrase were not quite so delicately complimentary as Dr. Ball's footnote suggests.

P. 161, l. 24. *as to the Pretender, his Cause is both desperate and obsolete*. Swift repeats this later in *Reasons for Repealing the Sacramental Test* (1733), but with a touch of irony which makes it a little doubtful whether Swift is wholly convinced even here that all incitements to Party and Faction have been entirely removed: 'It is well known that all the Catholics of these kingdoms, both priests and laity, are true Whigs in the best and most proper sense of the word; bearing as well in their hearts, as in their outward profession, an entire loyalty to the royal house of Hanover in the person and posterity of George II. against the

Pretender and all his adherents. To which they think themselves bound in gratitude as well as conscience, by the lenity wherewith they have been treated since the death of Queen Anne, so different from what they suffered in the four last years of that Princess, during the administration of that *wicked* minister, the Earl of Oxford.' See *Works*, iv. 92. Froude, however, remarks, in commenting on the lack of support for the Pretender, that 'Swift is echoed by every contemporary document'. For further discussion, see Lecky, *Ireland*, i. 414; and Froude, *The English in Ireland*, i. 362-6.

l. 27. *Obligation of Conscience*. Hawkesworth explains: 'the obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.'

P. 162, l. 1. *The Dissenters are now tolerated by Law*. This refers to the Toleration Act of Oct. 1719. Swift's phrase accurately describes the very limited measure of toleration it allowed. See Froude, *op. cit.*, i. 381-94.

l. 20. *such a Body of Clergy*. Cf. *Some Reasons against the Bill for settling the Tyth of Hemp, &c.*: 'there are hardly ten clergymen, through the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years past, who have not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line; or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit.' (*Works*, iii. 278.)

P. 164, l. 22. *Censure against those who wore Indian Stuffs*. Cf. *A Short View* (1727-8): 'Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries, particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a sort of gold thread that it may pass for Indian.' *Works*, vii. 88. See also *A Letter to the Archbishop of Dublin concerning the Weavers* (1729), *Works*, vii. 139.

P. 165, l. 7. *Stuffs and Silks for Clergymen*. See *Works*, vii. 141.

l. 17. *sent a Child for a Piece of Stuff*. Cf. *Observations on the Case of the Woollen Manufactures of Dublin* (1729), *Works*, vii. 149.

P. 166, l. 12. *late Plague in France*. It began at Marseilles in the summer of 1720, and continued to spread throughout the

centre of France until the winter of 1722. See Michelet, *Histoire de France* (Paris 1880), xvii. 281. The loss of this linen trade with Spain is referred to again by Swift in his *Letter to the Archbishop, &c.*, where he estimates its value as £300,000 a year. See *Works*, vii. 142.

P. 167, l. 18. *Printer was prosecuted*. Whitshed's prosecution of the two printers, Waters and Harding, is frequently mentioned by Swift. See *notes* to p. 101, l. 14, and p. 125, l. 3.

P. 169, l. 17. *to civilize the poorer Sort of our Natives*. The following note is added in later Dublin editions: 'Since writing of the above in the Year 1724 [*sic*], several Charter Schools have been erected in Ireland, by 1000*l* a year from his Majesty, and by other voluntary Subscriptions, for the Education of Boys and Girls of *Popish* Parents, who are bred to Husbandry, Gardening, the Sea, to Plain-work, and Housewifry, and many of both Sexes put out as Apprentices.' These Charter Schools, founded by Archbishop Boulter in 1733, were intended 'to rescue the souls of thousands of poor children from the dangers of Popish superstition and idolatry, and their bodies from the miseries of idleness and beggary'. See Lecky, *Ireland*, i. 233 and Froude, *English in Ireland*, i. 517.

l. 28. *pernicious Practice of Graziers*. Cf. *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, where this 'fancy of grazing' and the poor attempts at planting trees and hedges are again complained of. See *Works*, vii. 86-7.

P. 171, l. 6. *I had Opportunity and Curiosity to observe*. In 1723 Swift had undertaken 'a summer expedition of four months on account of his health', during which he had visited Cork and Galway, travelling through a large part of the south-west and west of Ireland. And it is doubtless on this occasion that he had made the observations which provided him with material for these speculations on 'the cultivating and Improvement of Land'. See *Corr.* iii. 173 n., 174.

P. 172, l. 12. *few Politicians . . . are half so useful . . . as an honest Farmer*. It will be remembered that the King of Brobdingnag was of the same opinion: 'And he gave it for his opinion, that whoever could make two ears of corn, or two blades of grass

to grow upon a spot of ground where only one grew before, would deserve better of mankind, and do more essential service to his country, than the whole race of politicians put together.' See *Works*, viii. 140.

ACCOUNT OF WOOD'S EXECUTION

P. 175, l. 1. *A full and true Account.* As Swift allowed this paper 'of humour and ridicule' to be included among his works, with the usual 'supposed to be written by the Author of the *Drapier's Letters*', I do not think there can be any doubt of its authenticity. That it was at least accepted as his by his contemporaries is clear from Orrery's comment: 'you will find a paper at the end of them that will excite your risibility, or I am mistaken. . . . The author makes the several artificers attend William Wood (represented by a log of timber) to the gallows, and each tradesman expresses his resentment in the terms of his proper calling. "The *Cook* will *baste* him. The *Bookseller* will *turn over a new leaf* with him. The *Taylor* will sit in his *skirts*;" and so on, through a number of people of different conditions. Then follows the procession, most humourously described. The whole is a piece of ridicule too powerful for the strongest gravity to withstand.' See *Remarks* (2nd ed., 1752), pp. 126-7. The collection of cant or trade terms may indeed be regarded as a sort of experiment in the direction of the later *Compleat Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation*.

l. 7. *Brother-in-law's House.* This was John Molineux, who lived in Meath Street, Dublin; see *Introd.*, pp. xiv-xvi.

P. 178, l. 1. *the whole Ceremony and Procession.* The following newspaper report describes the occasion, which seems to have suggested this skit; it evidently follows closely the actual details of what took place, if we may judge from the reference to 'Authority thinking fit to interpose and rescue the corpse'; 'Dublin, Sep. 8. Yesterday a very scald Portraiture or Image of Sir *Will. Wood* was born in Triumph thro' this City, by a vast Crowd of the *Mobility*, who with many Exclamations curs'd bann'd, and condemn'd him to the Gallows, where 'tis thought his Honour would have been *pendent*, had not My Lord Mayor

come in seasonably with a Reprieve.' See *Dublin Intelligence*, Tuesday, Sept. 8. 1724.

There are other references to this execution in *A Serious Poem upon William Wood, &c.*, and in *An Excellent New Song upon the Declarations of the Several Corporations*, where the various trades are introduced making comments—much more successfully than here—in terms suitable to their particular callings. See Appendix III, pp. 374, 5.

APPENDIX I

Later Activities of the Drapier

THE influence and popularity of the Drapier in Dublin after his triumph in 1725 has always been acknowledged, but the greater triumph in a different field which Swift achieved when *Gulliver's Travels* was published in the following year has tended rather to obscure the importance of the role which he continued to play in Dublin during the ensuing period. It is true that the final acknowledgement of the Drapier's services was delayed until 1729,¹ and gave occasion for the rather untimely comments which Swift addressed to the gentlemen who presented him with the Freedom of the City 'in a Golden Box'.² But there are many indications of his position in the interim, and some of them appear to have remained unnoticed.

When Swift returned from England for the last time in September 1727—realizing in spite of the kindness of his friends and the efforts of some of them to bring about his return to England that he had little hopes of preferment or fresh influence in the new reign, it must have seemed to him a curious irony to be received in Dublin with such enthusiasm and welcomed back by at least a section of the people as their liberator and leader.

The Society of Weavers presented him with an address, which was published as a Broadside; it is worth while quoting its curious phrases of unctuous and perhaps a little excessive gratefulness:

A CONGRATULATORY SPEECH. Of the Loyal and Charitable Society of Woollen Broad-Cloath-Weavers, in Honour to the Reverend Doctor Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, upon his safe Arrival in this Kingdom, Spoken to his Reverence by William Beed, Clerk of the Said Society, the Fourth Day of October, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Twenty-Seven.

Reverend Sir

We have to our unspeakable satisfaction received sufficient Testimony of your good Will towards the People of this Nation, and the publick Advantage thereof, as appeared by that divine Spirit visible to all discerning Persons in your Wise and useful Writings, whereby you secur'd your Country's Right, and preserv'd it

¹ *Corr.* iii. 234, n. 1 and iv. 127, n. 1.

² *Works*, vii. 169-72.

from being Ruined by designing and avaritious Men, which invaluable Blessing you happily accomplished by your Labours that proceeded of Love for the Commonwealth of this Kingdom in general, and for the interest of each True hearted Subject in particular.

Though in Journeyings often in perils of Waters, in perils by your own Countrymen, in perils from Strangers, in perils in the City, in perils in the Sea, in perils among false Brethren, in weariness, in painfulness, and Watchings often; Nay even almost to the Loss of your life: Notwithstanding, under all these Difficulties, God supported you and made you more than a Conqueror through him that strengthened you.

Therefore we cannot without being Guilty of the highest Ingratitude, omit embracing this Opportunity of expressing ourselves in the greatest Joy for your safe arrival among us, which (Blessed be God) is so happily brought about, and as a farther token of our Love and Gratitude, we take leave to offer up our hearty Thanks to Almighty God for preserving you in your Voyage, always beseeching him to be your Guide unto Death, and preserve your going out and coming in from this Time forever, that full of Years and full of Sanctity you may rest in hope of a Blessed Resurrection, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdom of Heaven, where there is fulness of Joy and Pleasure for evermore.

To which his Reverence made many favourable Replies, particularly returning the Society Thanks for their so gratefully acknowledging his many past favours done for the good of his Kingdom.

Thomas Pelin }
Peter Walker } SUPERVISORS.
Mark Nealan }

It is a pity there is no complete record of Swift's reply. But we find in a letter he wrote to Pope a few days later a wish that in a future existence he might enjoy company much less exalted than that of the blessed patriarchs: he says that if he were to write an Utopia for heaven, it would be one of his schemes to let old friends be acquainted in another state; he had just parted from Pope, and doubtless Stella, who was then dying, was also in his mind.

At the time of Swift's return in October 1727 Dublin was in

the turmoil of an exciting Parliamentary election. There do not seem to have been any particular political principles at stake, and the ordinary party cries were not heard; but one of the candidates had been recklessly bidding for the support of the Dissenters, which provoked his opponents to clamour that the Church was in danger, and a bitter pamphlet war had already begun. In this war both Captain Gulliver and the Drapier played a considerable part, however little Swift himself may have been responsible for their activities.¹ For out of the twelve prose pamphlets (not to include a number of doggerel ballads of no importance) written on this occasion which are still extant and preserved in the collection of Irish Pamphlets in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, two are supposed to represent the sentiments of Gulliver, two are letters signed with the well-known initials of the Drapier—M.B. Of three others—almost certainly printed by Mrs. Harding, the widow of the printer of the *Drapier Letters*—two were immediately replied to and charged upon Swift; and the final paper, dated November 1, refers to the part played by M.B. in the controversy.

There were three candidates standing for the two seats, to represent the City of Dublin in the Irish House of Commons:

1. Mr. Samuel Burton, who received the largest number of votes and was not brought directly into the controversy.
2. Councillor William Howard, a lawyer and the owner of an estate in Co. Wicklow, whose father had been Regius Professor of Medicine in Trinity College, and whose brother was Bishop of Killala. He was evidently a popular candidate from the first, and by appealing especially for the support of the Dissenters gained a considerable majority over
3. Alderman Stoyte,² an old friend of Swift's, who depended chiefly on the support of the trading interests of the City but had also the full weight of the High Church Party behind him.

¹ Lord Orrery refers to Swift's influence in Dublin elections. 'Many corporations refused to declare themselves, till they had consulted his sentiments and inclinations, which were punctually followed with equal cheerfulness and submission.' *Remarks* (London 1752), pp. 47-8.

² For further details see *Corr.* ii. 67 n.

The polling seems to have been spread over a considerable period, and indeed it was suggested that the Sheriffs had not behaved with strict fairness and propriety and had not scrupled to try and make sure of the election of the Alderman. But it will be simplest perhaps to quote a curious paper published when the poll was over on November 1st, which reviews the course of the whole election, entitled

THE LAST SPEECH AND DYING WORDS OF THE
ELECTION

of

THE CITY OF DUBLIN, ENDED NOVEMBER THE 1st.

1727

Fellows Citizens,

As this is the Last Time these many Years, Allowed for me to trouble you, I cant take my Leave with any Satisfaction, out of fear of your Reflections on Me for what Misbehaviour I have been guilty of if I should not make an open Confession to you of my Evil as well as of my Good Doings, since I have been among you.

Know then, That as soon as IT was resolved I should be Summon'd among you, I had Notice of it, and the Three Candidates were presented to me, I for a While considered what was fittest to be done, and according, as was Best, was immediately going to Declare for *Them you have seen Triumph toDay*, but alas! as soon as your *Fathers* perceiv'd that I was not likely to appear for the *One*, I was ordered to be *arrested* by the S——ffs, who as I am since informed had Orders to make me do —— as I thank most of you, I have not done, however for awhile I was obliged seemingly to comply, yet not without hopes *if they could not prevail* they would acquiesce in what has happen'd, accordingly they put me in Action, and to see if possibly they could bring me to their Will, were assisted by an M.B. who I confess made me waver too much, for not seeing any Person *strike* for my Favourite H. I began to lean to his Opposers, but at length observing several good Hints given by *Publicola* in his Papers, back'd by his much more commendable APPEALS and ADDRESSES, I at once Openly Declar'd I would not longer be with Held from Doing as I thought, tho' I thereby immediately

EXPIRED, which resolution being Plainly seen to be impossible to Alter, those who kept Me so long struggling let Me Loose, and gave my real Assent to You all; which with my Expiring Breath is this — Long Live Our Sovereign King and Queen, and may they never want More Honourable or Honester Men to represent to Them their Country, than Mr. *Howard*, and Mr. *Burton*, to whom and to you All by Unanimity, Love, Peace, Joy, and Concord to the end of your Lives; And may those who would Oppress or sowe Discord among You, only get their Desserts Here and Hereafter.

The most interesting point here is the definite reference to the important part played by M.B. in opposing Councillor Howard, although this alone is of course far from sufficient evidence to prove that Swift actually wrote any of the papers attributed to him. In 1724 and 1725, and afterwards again in 1729, the name of the Drapier was used to promote the sale of a good deal both in prose and verse that Swift had nothing whatever to do with. But it will be evident in this case that the whole authority and interest of the Drapier was brought into this controversy on the side of Alderman Stoyte; and the papers definitely attacked by Publicola as the work of the Drapier, though not like Swift at his best, may well have come from his workshop.

The Drapier was evidently brought into the fray only when it seemed likely that Howard's prospects of success were raising extravagant hopes among the more fanatical Dissenters. At first there had appeared 'several scurrilous Papers . . . which contain nothing but vile dirty Reflections, and scarce common Sense: patched up, as I suppose, by Ballad Writers, or other Hackney Scribblers, without any Regard to Truth'.

Some of these doggerel verses¹ are still extant—printed on one side of a half-sheet Folio, though most of them are laudatory and in favour of Councillor Howard, e.g.

- (i) *THE ELECTION*—a proper new Ballad.
- (ii) *BALLAD* made on the present election in behalf of Councillor Howard.

¹ In the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. *Press A.7.4*, Nos. 219, 203, 200. The other papers referred to are from the same collection, the numbers quoted in each case giving their place in the volume.

(iii) *THE VULTURE AND EAGLE*. A Poem Humbly inscrib'd to Counsellor H——d written by P. Q.

The earliest of the extant prose pamphlets seems to be *The Case of the City of Dublin stated, and Humbly presented to the consideration of all Freeholders, and lovers of their Country*, (217) signed F. J. with an early statement of the poll at the bottom of the page.

'The POLE for the Candidates this Week, are as follows; Samuel Burton Esq. 719. William Howard Esq. 656. John Stoyte Esq. 640.'

This was immediately replied to by *An answer to the Case of the City of Dublin; In the behalf of the Alderman, &c.* (181). It is called 'a humble effort by a Tradesman in tolerable circumstances' who apologizes for 'this indigested jumble of words'.

These two papers are concerned mainly with the fact that Howard was an Irishman and Stoyte an Englishman, who wore English clothes, but we learn also incidentally that Alderman Stoyte had not been so active as his opponent 'in drawing a few Corks in his own Defence (as the Phrase goes)'. And it is this point which is the main subject of a very vigorous paper, where we may I think detect the method of the Drapier though the hand is rather that of Sheridan. It is entitled:

TO THE GENTLEMEN FREEHOLDERS, AND FREEMEN
OF THE CITY, A FEW WORDS CONCERNING THE
ALDERMAN AND SQUIRE. (180)

GENTLEMEN,

YOU have two *Candidates* before you, just upon the brink of Election, one of which is to Represent you in Parliament. The Question is, Whether you are to chuse the Person, who is best qualify'd for you, or him who is not—I fancy you will all naturally think a good Citizen, one of your own Body, a Lover of his Country, a Loyal Subject to his Majesty King *George*, a Person out of all Road of *Civil Preferment*, and consequently of *Corruption*, and a favourer of tender Consciences, must be the Man, and such I take the *Alderman* to be. As for the *SQUIRE*, I shall make no Personal Reflections, but say that he is no more

fit to Represent you, than the *Pageant* which is carryed before the *Corporation of Smiths*.

IN the first place, How can he be a Member for you, who is not of your Body? For he is no more a Citizen, than the *Wooden-man* in *Essex-street*; Whereas Mr. *Alderman* is a Piece of your selves, a part of your very Vitals, and therefore must have you and your Interests more at heart, than a Man who comes from *Terra Incognito*; that is, *From the Devil's Arse a Peak*.

CONSIDER too that Mr. *Alderman* has not gone from Door to Door, begging of Votes, but has like an honest Man, as he is, left it to your own Consciences to judge, which of the two is most Zealous for the Preservation of your Rights, and Privileges, the Advancement of Trade, the good of your City, and the good of the Kingdom in General. Whereas the *Squire* does not at all apply to your *Consciences*, but your *Stomachs*; and thinks by filling them with *Cold Beef* and SOUR WINE, that you shall hastily give away your *Votes*, and believe him to be the only Friend to you, to your City, and to your Country, who fills your Bellies for a Season, and turns your Heads, in Order to serve his TURN.

PRAY, Gentlemen, consider seriously with your selves, whether you are to be led by the Guts, like so many Dogs in Strings? If you think so, and resolve to be deluded, there is a *Dutch Painter* in Town, who says he will draw ye with Pack threads, fastened to your Guts, and the *Squire* leading you as Captain *Gulliver* drew the Ships.

IT will be a fine jest in the Mouths of your Adversaries, on the Day of Election. *Make room, clear the Way, here comes the GUT-VOTERS*.

SUPPOSE the *Squire*, when he demanded your Votes first, had said in plain *English* to each of you, *Jack*, or *Tom*, or *Will*, prithy give me your Vote, and I will give you your Belly full of Meat and Drink, would not the Person thus spoken to think himself very much Affronted, and yet the Fact of treating you, amounts to the very same thing.

GENTLEMEN, let me once more desire you to think better of the matter, your Treats are now all over, *Eaten Bread is forgotten*, is a good old Proverb. If the 'Squire hits you in the Teeth, with what you have eaten and drank, hit him in the Teeth again with it. Refund him his Reckonings, it will be but a Trifle to

each of you; For, to my Knowledge, the *Wine* which the '*Squire* bought at the *Merchants*, stood him only in Three-pence a Bottle, which you may all recollect, if you have not forgotten your *Cholicks* and *Head-Achs*. I was told by a Gentleman of Veracity, that he was present, when the *Merchant* said, these *Hogsheads*, Sir, are too Sour for Drinking, I intend them for *Vinegar*. Upon which the *Squire* replied, *It is good Election Claret, the Rascals I am to throw it away upon have no more Palates than my Shoe-soal. A parcel of Scoundrels, who are glad of a little sour Small-beer at home.* If what I say be not true, may I Drink some of the same *Wine* for a Year to come.

BELIEVE me, Gentlemen, he has no tender Regard for you in the least, or he wou'd never hazard your lives by giving you such *Poison*; for so I will call it. I wou'd rather take *Poison* my self, because I could get rid of it by the help of *Oyl* in half an Hour. But Seven Years *Physick* will not carry off those Dregs, which your Veins have imbib'd upon this unfortunate Occasion.

TO Conclude all, I will tell you a Piece of History, and after that a Fable.

ONE *Corvinus Messala*, a Lawyer at *Rome*, inveigled a vast Number of the Citizens, by Feasting and Junketting, to make him a Member of their *Senate*, which was the same thing as a *Parliament-Man* amongst us, and accordingly he was chosen in Opposition to a very worthy and good Citizen, a Nephew of *Cato* the Elder. When he had gain'd his Point, it was Observ'd, that he never took the least Notice of one of his *Voters*. But what makes his Ingratitude very Monstrous, one *Ambustus Lanius*, Head of the Corporation of Butchers, a Man very Active in his Interest, happen'd to be most injuriously Treated by one of the Opposite Faction, and when he apply'd to *Messala*, for Redress, the worthy *Senator* instead of taking the honest *Butcher* into his Protection, turns about to a Person he was Walking with, and said, This *Rascal*, because I fill'd his Guts with Beef, which I bought of himself, imagins I must plead his Cause for nothing. So turnd off the poor Fellow, without making the least *Apology*.

NOW, Gentlemen, for the *Fable*. Once upon a time, when other *Animals*, as well as *Men*, had their publick Assemblies and Meetings, a cunning *Fox*, by his Wheedling and Craft, had got

so far into favour with the several wild Beasts of the Forrest, to which he did not belong, that he set up for a *Member of Parliament*, against a good Old *Lyon*, who had been a Great Benefactor among them, and by his Dexterity and Art, had gained several of the *Lyon's Party* and *Species* from him, insomuch that when the Day of Election came, it was feared the *Fox* wou'd carry it from him. Upon this a Horse of a good plain Understanding, stood up and said, *Here are two Candidates before us, the one has distinguish'd himself at all Times for the good of the Forrest, and is one of our selves. The other never did us any good, nor did I ever hear or see him before yesterday. My opinion is, if I have any Skill in Physiognomy, this sly Gentleman wou'd set Fire to the Forrest, and destroy us all for one fat Goose. I shall say no more; for few Words are best.* He had no sooner done, but the *Forrest Rung* with Shouts of Approbation. The *Lyon* was hoist upon Shoulders, and the *Fox* was sent off with a few *Raggamuffin Currs* at his Tail, and so ended the Election.

F I N I S.



The reference to *Gulliver* and the concluding appeal in the form first of historical reference and then of fable is very like Swift and his friends. This is the first of the papers which were evidently printed by Mrs. Harding; for although there is neither date nor printer's name given, the tail-piece reproduced above is also used for several papers of the *Intelligencer*, printed by her for Swift in the next year, and for the title-page of *A Short View of the State of Ireland* (Dublin, Printed by S. Harding, &c., 1727-8).

This drew a reply in verse—*A Commendatory Poem To the honourable City of Dublin*, in the behalf of William Howard Esq.; Anno 1727 by R.V. (202).

It is poor stuff, but he attempts to answer the main charge,

and then with a superior air scoffs at the plain style of the writer, and does not omit to jeer at the misprint 'Terra incognito'.

A Man by his Birth and Education,
 Very fit to serve his King and Nation,
 It's no new thing for Candidates to Treat,
 And for honest Men of their Feasts to Eat,
 If some don't Treat, it's well to spare their Purse
 Which they Love well; perhaps they may do worse,
 Let no Reflections Citizens amuse,
 Nor reviling Taunts hinder them to Chuse
 An honest Patriot, that's well qualified,
 To plead the Nation's cause (whate'er betide)
 In an August Assembly; his bright Genius,
 Merits your Voice, maugre that henious,
 Vile, preposterous Scrole lately published,
 Go on *Free-Men*, the *Guild* has lead the Van,
 And all affirm that *Howard* shall be the Man:
 In spite of that Great Pamphleteer, whose Quil,
 Belch out his Malice, not with any skill,
 In *Rhetorick*, his Figures and his Tropes,
 Denotes his empty Brain, quite out of hopes, &c., &c.

The phrase *Great Pamphleteer* may of course be merely ironical, but otherwise it might well be taken to indicate that the poet thought he knew whom he was attacking.

It is curious that after this there appeared a very crude paper in favour of Howard called *Guliver's Letter to the Tholsel concerning the present Election* (177), an appeal to support him on the ground that he is a 'Man of Learning, a Man that can speak in the behalf of you and your country'.

It gives also a later statement of the polling at the bottom of the page.

'Alderman Stoyte 711. Samuel Burton Esq.; 820. William Howard Esq; 797.'

And another paper was announced by George Faulkner [sic] among advertisements printed at the end of a *Speech Against Sir R—— W——'s Proposal. For Increasing the Civil List*

Revenue; As it was spoken in the House of Commons by W—— S—— Esq. (118).

(London. Dublin Reprinted George Faulkner 1727.)

'N.B. Just come to hand a curious Piece from Capt. Gulliver, worthy the attention of the Citizens of Dublin at this Juncture, and will be publish'd to Morrow by the Printer hereof'.

It had the following title:

SEASONABLE REFLECTIONS ADDRESS'D TO THE
CITIZENS OF DUBLIN, BY CAPT. GULLIVER.

It is an Old Maxim, that the People of Great-Britain can never lose their Liberties, except by a Parliament. When a Man reflects on this, and Considers the Practices, carried on in order to get a particular Set of Men, return'd, it cannot enter into a Man's Head to believe; that these Acts are returned for no other Design but of preserving the publick Liberty.

I don't doubt but many, who are return'd, may think they have nothing more to do now than to make their own private Advantage of it; and that they are not at all accountable to the People, without, for their Behaviour within Doors.

A Servant cannot be greater than his Master, nor the Representatives above the Persons represented; and the Plenipotentiary of a Prince or a Common wealth, though invested with full Powers to do whatever he thinks fit, according to the best of his Direction and Capacity, is call'd to an Account after and punish'd, if he has abus'd that Trust. In popular Governments, where the People being too many to Act for themselves, appoint their Deputies or Plenipotentiaries; it is to be understood, that they entrust them only with a Power of Acting for their Advantage; but it is unnatural to suppose they can be justified, should they turn their Power to the Prejudice of their Principals. In England where (particularly since the Revolution) it is maintained, that the Prince is to be resisted, nay even dethroned, for Male Administration. Yet some People pretend, that a Parliament may do what they will, and are accountable to Nothing upon Earth. It would be strange, indeed, if one part of the legislative Power should be under such Checks, and the other under no Checks at all; it would surely be making the House of Commons much greater than the King,

In reckoning how many ways Governments come to be dissolved, Mr. Lock has these Words;

‘There is another way whereby Governments are dissolved, and that is, when the Legislature, or Prince, either of them Act contrary to their Trust.

‘The Legislative Acts against the Trust reposed in them, when they endeavour to invade the Property of the Subject, or to make themselves, or any part of their Community, Masters, or Arbitrary Disposers of the Lives, Liberties, or Fortunes of the People.

‘The Reason why Men enter into Society, is, the Preservation of their Property; and the End why they chuse and Authorize a Legislature, is, that there may be Laws made, and Rules set, as Guards and Fences to the Properties of all the Members of the Society.

‘For, since it can never be supposed to be the Will of the Society, that the Legislature should have a Power to destroy that which every one designs to secure, by entering into Society, and for which the People submitted themselves to Legislators of their own making.

‘Whenever the Legislators endeavour to take away and destroy the Property of the People, or to reduce them to Slavery under arbitrary Power, they put themselves into a State of War with the People, who are thereupon absolved from any further Obedience, and are left to the common Refuge, which God hath provided for all Men against Force and Violence.

‘Whenever the Legislature shall transgress this fundamental Rule of Society, and either by Ambition, Fear, Folly or Corruption, endeavour to grasp to themselves, or put into the Hands of any other, an absolute Power over the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the People; By this Breach of Trust they forfeit the Power the People had put into their Hands for quite contrary Ends, and it devolves to the People, who have a Right to resume their Liberty, and by the Establishment of a new Legislature (such as they think fit) provide for their own Safety and Security, which is the End for which they are in Society.

‘What I have said here concerning the Legislature in general, holds true also concerning the supreme Executor, who having a double Trust put in him, both to have a part in the Legislature, and

the supreme Execution of the Law, acts against both, when he goes about to set up his own arbitrary Will, as the Law of the Society.

‘He acts also contrary to his Trust, when he either employs the Force, Treasure and Offices of the Society, to corrupt the *Representatives, and gain them to his Purposes*, or openly pre-engages the Electors, and prescribes to their Choice, such whom he has by Sollicitations, Threats, Promises, or otherwise, won to his Designs, and employs them to bring in such who promise beforehand what to vote, and what to enact.

‘Thus to regulate Candidates and Electors, and new model the Ways of Election, what is it but to cut up the Government by the Roots, and to poison the very Fountain of the publick Security? for the People have reserv’d to themselves the Choice of their Representatives, as the Fence to their Properties, and could do it for no other End, but that they might always be freely chosen, and so chosen freely, act and advise, as the Necessity of the Common-wealth, and the publick Good should, upon Examination, and mature Debate, be judged to require:

‘This those who give their Votes before they have heard the Debate and have weighed the Reasons on all Sides, are not capable of doing.

‘To prepare such an Assembly as this, and to endeavour to set up the declared Abettors of his own Will for the true Representatives of the People, and the Law-makers of the Society; is certainly as great a Breach of Trust, and as perfect a Declaration of a Design to subvert the Government as is possible to be met with. To which, if one shall add Rewards and Punishments visibly employ’d to the same End, all the Arts of perverted Law made use of, to take off, or destroy all that stand in the Way of such a Design.’

Thus it may be seen, that according to the Nature of free Governments, one Branch of the Legislative Power is as much to be resisted if it betrays its Trust, as the other.

This has no direct bearing on the immediate struggle between Stoyte and Howard, but simply points out the danger of allowing the House of Commons too much power. This certainly represents Swift’s position, but it seems hardly characteristic of the

later author of the Legion Club to deal with the Irish House of Commons in such a grave and restrained manner. Besides whoever wrote it had almost certainly the House of Commons under Walpole in mind, so that it has no connexion with the present subject.

There can be little doubt, however, about the source or the intention of a paper which evidently appeared towards the end of October, without a printer's name but with the same type and setting and the same tail-piece as the one already referred to as printed by Mrs. S. Harding.

It is entitled:

A LETTER TO THE FREEMEN AND FREEHOLDERS OF
THE CITY OF DUBLIN, WHO ARE PROTESTANTS
OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND AS BY LAW ESTABLISHED. A.7.2 (120).

Gentlemen, Brethren, and Friends,

THIS Paper is intended wholly to you, and to entreat you will consider what you are doing. There are three Persons soliciting to be your Representatives in Parliament, all of them professing the established Religion. One of them an *Alderman*, a Member of your Body, another the *Son of a Member*, and the third a *Gentleman of a Learned Profession*. They are all Strangers to Me except the first, and he a very slender Acquaintance, neither have I the least personal Reason to believe any of them a dishonest Man. But against the last, there seem to be some very strong Objections. I blame no Gentleman, who *honestly* procures as many Votes as he can out of all Parties and Religions which are allowed the Privilege of Voting; but for a Man to profess the established Church, and yet openly to place himself at the Head of a Party who at least would not be sorry to see the *National Religion* subjected, and their own Reigning in its stead, to appear the Leader of several Hundred *Dissenters*, to employ their *Preachers* in Declaring and Soliciting for him, as if it were a Point, wherein their safety or even their Salvation depended: This I say is a proceeding of such a Nature, as ought to awaken and Rouze you from your Lethargy. Can you imagine he hath been cajoling and cultivating so dangerous an Interest without

making the largest Promises? Can you imagine that the *Dissenters* do not expect something very extraordinary from him? And what is it they can expect? They have already more Privileges than any Sect in any Nation ever had which differed from the National Religion. I defy them to tell you what they want, or what they can further desire than the *Overthrow of the Church*, and the Possession of all civil Employments. Let the *Dissenters*, in God's Name, shew any other Grievances they lye under. They think our Church *Idolatrous*, and therefore it is a matter of Conscience in them to endeavour it may lye in the Dust, and their own Worship built upon its Ruins. They will not deny, neither would they be honest if they should deny, that their passionate Desire is to have their own Sect the Ruling Religion of the Kingdom, because they think it the best; they have the Privilege of Voting for *Parliament-Men*, and if it were in their Power in every County and Corporation to chuse one of their own Fraternity, would they not be bound in Conscience to do so? And then I ask you what would become of our Religion, when a Majority of its Enemies had the making of our Laws? But since none of their own Profession in this City have set up their Pretensions, their next best Course was to single out the *MAN* who was most ready to make them the fairest Offers, who would owe his Seat in *Parliament* entirely to them, who being no Trader, and consequently having no concern in the Welfare of the City, must entirely depend upon those, who can only make him Rise in his Calling, and who out of Gratitude as well as Interest, will and must do all in his Power to serve the *Dissenters* and humble the Church, especially if they should see such a Disposition favoured by those from whom he expects his Reward.

SOME of you perhaps, and I am afraid too many are very indifferent what Religion prevails, provided *Popery* be kept out, but I beg you will consider how difficult a thing it is to change the settled Religion of a Kingdom, without involving that Kingdom in Blood and Desolation; or if it should not, what would you get by the Bargain? If the *Dissenters* had now the Reins in their Hands, would you be the People in favour? No, all their Encouragement would be given their own old Brethren and Favourites, with those alone they would Trade, those alone

would govern your City, you would be all looked upon as *Superstitious, Idolatrous, Ceremony-mongers, and Friends of Popery.*

THEREFORE, in the Name of God, chuse such a Person who will Represent you as *Citizens, as Tradesmen, and as professors of the Church established*, one who hath the same interest in every point with yourselves, not a *Representative* only of *Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, Muggletonians, Freewillers*, and the like; not a *Representative* whose chief business it will be to *Represent Himself*, to make his Fortune by Methods wherein you have no Concern, further than to dread them, to whom it is indifferent whether you Sink or Swim, provided he can make himself Richer or Greater, by going into all measures that may Ruin and Destroy you.

I am assur'd by a Hundred People, that the Person who is supposed to be the *Drapier*, declared himself entirely of these Sentiments in the several Answers he made to those Societies of *Weavers*, who attended him upon his Return to *Ireland*; and as you have all professed a great regard to the Opinions of that deserving Gentleman, I cannot doubt but you will take his Advice. Let your *Heads* be of your own *Body*, not a MONSTROUS ONE taken from another, which neither knows your Inclinations, your Abilities, your Diseases, nor your Wants.

LET the *Dissenters* enjoy their many Privileges and Immunities, and (*with a little force upon their Consciences*) the Liberty of possessing civil Employments, but never trust them with mending your *Religion*, or making your Laws, nor consequently give your Vote for such a Person to Represent you in *Parliament*, who will think it incumbent upon him to gratify those to whom he will owe his Seat in the House, and perhaps a Seat on the *Bench*.

FINIS

This is a very serious and vigorous effort to rouse the voters who were Churchmen to rally in defence of the Alderman, and the supporters of Howard declared at once that they could recognize the hand of the *Drapier*, and a reply appeared entitled: *THE DRAPIER DISSECTED. An Address to the*

Protestant Freeholders, Freemen &c. of the Church of Ireland, Containing, A brief Defence of the Dissenters of Dublin from the Opprobrious Calumnies thrown on them by the Author of A late Letter Address'd to the Freeholders and Freemen of the City, concerning the present Election &c. &c. (176).

He suggests at once that it was Swift who was responsible for this attack on the dissenters:

'the Devil with all his Artifices can't hide his cloven Foot . . . I fancy there may be some Truth in this Observation since that *Deserving Gentleman* the DRAPIER (to give him his own Compliment) notwithstanding all the Pains he has taken to conceal himself under the Disguise of *Modesty, Goodmanners* and *Concern for the Publick Good* can't forbear confessing his *true Character*, in a late Paper . . . call'd a *Letter &c.* which whoever carefully examines can have no doubt of His being the Author, if the Likeness of a *Brat* to his *Parent* can be any evidence of the Relation between them.'

He sums up very fairly the main intention of the paper.

'*the design of it is to strike you all with a Panick and to make you believe the Contest now among you about the choice of Representatives, do's so immediately affect the Church's Interest that it must for ever stand or fall by the Success of the Present Election.*'

It is 'the Common Artifice of a *set of Men* who with all their noisy pretences of Zeal for the Church have done it more real disservice and bro't more disgrace upon IT than they cou'd have done by being its sworn, avowed Enemies. And I know no instance wherein the truth of this Observation is more apparent *than in the Author of the Paper now before Me.*'

This received no direct reply, but another paper was printed by Mrs. Harding (there is a different tail-piece but it also is used again in other *Intelligencer* papers), entitled:

ADVICE TO THE ELECTORS OF THE CITY OF
DUBLIN. (216)

FIRST, You are to consider that the Persons whom you shall chuse to Represent you, may probably continue in Parliament till their Deaths, because there is no Law in this Kingdom to limit the Duration of Parliaments, and therefore, altho' your Members

shou'd give up all the Rights and Privileges of your City, and the very Liberty and Property of the Nation, you have no Remedy; So that the Calamity is even more desperate than the most unhappy Marriage, where the Law redresses you in several Cases; but never in this.

SECONDLY, You are to consider whether the Person who desires to be chosen, hath the same Interest with you, whether the same thing which will do hurt to you, will do hurt to him, and the same thing which does good to you, will do good to him. For Example, An honest Merchant, one of those who buys your Goods, and Manufactures with ready Money, and carries them to Foreign Countrys, if they be Cheap and well Wrought, it is his Interest to deal with you, and it is yours to deal with him, so likewise, any substantial Citizen who deals with you in your several Trades, and sets great Numbers of you to Work, and pays you honestly without exacting on you, or keeping you long out of your Money, or imposing their own Work upon the Journeymen instead of Payment, of which the poor Weavers grievously complain, such a Man hath the same Interest with you, you are like Man and Wife, if he thrives you will thrive too, and if he be undone, you will be so too, and therefore when he goes into Parliament, he will never consent to any Vote or Law which will do you the least Hurt, because his Loss or Advantage will be the same with yours.

THIRDLY, If any Person desires you to chuse a Man who hath nothing to do with your Trade, *or any Trade at all*, you are very seriously to consider, and strictly to enquire whether he be of that kind of Gentlemen, *who want and desire a Place or Employment*, which you well know you are not able to give him, any other way than by helping him into Parliament, and when he is there, he hath nothing more to do with you or your Trade, or the Interest or Wealth of your City, but his Heart and Application will be wholly to those who can give him such a *Place* as he desires, and when he gives his Vote and prevails on others to do so too, directly against the Good of your City and the Kingdom, yet the Benefit of the Employment which he hopes to get, will largely make up to his private Advantage, the Loss and Mischief which he doth to the Publick by betraying you and it.

Alack! what good is it to you if the Man you chuse be made a *Judge*, or any other *Officer* in the *Law*, or the *Revenues*, you

may Lawfully Swear he did not get those Places by consulting the Interest of you, or your City or Country; Believe me after you have chosen him, he will never have you once in his Thoughts; He hath another Game in hand, how he may seek Profit and Honour to himself, by pleasing the MIGHTY. You are his Ladder by which he Mounts, and upon which he Tramples as he Mounts, and the more he Tramples upon you, the Higher he hopes to Mount, and when he has done with you, he leaves you to be trampled upon by others.

One thing you may depend upon, that whoever *Buys your Votes*, will be ready to *Sell his own*. For no Man will be a Loser in any Bargain, if he can help it.

LASTLY, Let me warn you my Dear Brother Citizens, against a sort of wicked People, who before, and at the time of Election, are likely enough to Roar in your Ears, the fear of *Popery*, and the *Pretender*, to call those who differ from them by the Names, *Jacobites*, *Tories*, and *High-Church*; but be pleased to assure your selves, that you are no more in danger of *Popery*, or the *Pretender*, than you are of the Great *Turk*. The *Roman-Catholicks* have Smarted enough already, they will lose no more Land, they know the Case is Desperate, and the chief of them have declared their Duty to His Present Majesty, in a Loyal-Address: But, whatever they may have in their Hearts, we have a better Security. Their share of Land is very small; and therefore they are as inconsiderable, as the Women and Children.

Neither have you any thing to do with *Whig* or *Tory*. We all agree against *Popery* and the *Pretender*, as well as in our Loyalty to His Present Majesty King *GEORGE* the Second, and His Royal Protestant-Issue, and in preserving the Toleration granted to *Dissenters*. When you are sure of these Principles in the Person who desires you to chuse him, then you are to consider the other Qualifications I mentioned at first; in short, whether his chief Business in Parliament be to serve his Country, or get a *Place*, in which of these two his Interest chiefly lyes; for that is his *Treasure*, and where his *Treasure* is, there will his *Heart* be also. They who live by Trade and Commerce, will encourage Trade and Commerce, which is the Nations Good. To make and Sell Merchantable-Goods, is for the Advantage of our Country, but to utter and sell bad *Votes*, is to the Ruin of our Country.

LASTLY, Those Persons, who, in order to be chosen for your City, think fit to work upon the Body of the *Dissenters*, and employ their Preachers to secure the Votes of that Party, as if they expected some mighty matter in their favour, if such a Person were chosen, do act a very unsincere part. The Dissenters should not rashly conclude that every Man who is violent against the Church, does so out of Love to them, or that such Gentlemen have any particular favour to their *way of Worship*. They may indeed hate the Bishops, because the Bishops are Lords and have Lands. They may hate the Clergy, because Clergy-men would be sorry to see those Lands among Squires. But, upon Examination you will find them to be a sort of People equally indifferent to any Religion whatsoever.

The Dissenters of this Kingdom are more favoured then any Party of Men in any other Country, which differs from the Religion of the Country. But can our Dissenters think that those Gentlemen who court them, so much would Vote that they should have the same Right with themselves to the *few Employments* left us: That would not be for their Interest, and therefore they will hardly allow it without a very *great Price*, too great for you to tempt them by helping into Parliament; For every one of you knows that a Loaf divided among Twenty People, is not so good as if Ten were to share it.

Upon the whole, the little Trade we have (and God knows, it is next to nothing) depends upon the firmness and honesty of those whom we send to Parliament, and their Honesty and Firmness, as it happens with most Men, depend upon their Interest if it be for their Advantage to betray you. The odds are too great against you to expose the very Life, and Blood of your Country upon such a Hazard. And so God direct you in your Choice.

FINIS.



This continues the attack begun in the *Letter* and seems, though careless in some details, very much like Swift's manner. And it produced a reply from *Publicola* entitled *An Appeal to the Citizens of Dublin in behalf of His Majesty, Several of our Chiefs, and One of our Worthy Candidates, Against The Scandalous Insinuations contained in an abusive LIBEL upon them, Intituled Advice to the Electors, &c., &c. In a Letter from an Eminent Gentleman to a Friend.*

It opens also with a clear enough hint as to the identity of the person he is opposing:

'The *Brazen-head* and *Gloven Foot* appear so plainly thro' the whole performance that without being a Conjuror One may easily guess the Author, were it worth while to utter his Name (to borrow his own witty Phrase).'

This pun indeed with its special reference to the 'uttering' or making current of Wood's Halfpence is perhaps in itself sufficient to establish Swift's right to the authorship; it is difficult at any rate to think of any friends or apprentices of the Drapier who could so neatly reveal by a mere stitch the quality of their workmanship.

The attack on the Drapier is then continued with some violence.

'... the Publishing such Scurrilous Libels much more justly intitles himself to take his Station upon a certain Scaffold near the place of Polling, where the Electors may have the Satisfaction of seeing him rewarded according to his deserts. Can any thing be more infamous than the Reflections cast on the Gov—t, when he represents them as giving Employments to Men for Voting against the Interest of the Kingdom, when he tells his Readers that they may swear that if any Man be made a Judge or an Officer in the Law or the Revenue he did not get those Places by consulting the Interest of his Country or fellow Citizens.

What can be the view of such Declarations but to slander his Majesty's Government to infuse Jealousies of him into the Minds of his good Subjects, to cherish a spirit of Disaffection and incourage a Popish Mob to rebel whenever a fair opportunity offers.

This attack on the Drapier is strongly condemned in a Letter dated Dublin, Oct. 28, 1727—i.e. only four days before the end of the polling—and signed M(?). The corner of the leaf is damaged and the other letter effaced, but it is probably the well-

known signature M.B. The top of the leaf has also been cut, leaving only of the title . . . CRISIS. *Being the State of the City at this present Juncture. In a Letter from a Gentleman, to his Friend in the country.* (212).

After giving an account of the transactions in the City relating to the Elections, with which we are already sufficiently familiar, he refers to the 'Paper-War among Scribblers of various Classes, which has been carried on with so much ill-nature and Scur-rility'. '. . . One of them in particular Publish'd a paper some days ago, under the Title of an Appeal, from an Eminent Gentleman, in behalf of his Majesty &c. in which, like a Pyrate, he throws his Stink-pots, most plentifully, at Alderman Stoyte and all his Friends, and chiefly at a certain worthy Gentleman, who has Signaliz'd himself by his Eminent Services to his Country.'

He proceeds then to emphasize the importance of the dispute, as being in reality a struggle to show 'which of the two Parties is the strongest, that of the Church which favours the Alderman, or that of the Sectaries who support the Councillor', and finishes with a short résumé of the dangerous attacks of the Fanatics on Church and State since 1641. 'Whoever reflects on these things, must own, that there can be no security for our Crown, our Mitre, or our Laws, if we permit these bloody Saints to gain Ground, or to feel their strength, which they will inevitably do, if they carry the Election for their Favourites in his Majesty's two largest and most populous Cities, London and Dublin.'

There is also another paper with the title, partly cut off, . . . CRISIS OR THE LAST STAKE: *Being impartial ADVICE to the Citizens of Dublin, on the Election &c.* in the form of a letter signed 'Your Well Wisher and Friend M.B.'.

It is without date and printer's name, and makes no reference to any other pamphlets, but discusses the claims of the candidates from a purely personal point of view, emphasizing the point already made in *Advice to the Electors of the City of Dublin*—quoted above—that it is dangerous to choose as a representative an ambitious young lawyer, who once elected will have no further object but to obtain preferment for himself.

'Your Representatives I say should have Capacities to distinguish between good and evil, they should be perfectly well

acquainted with the Trade and Constitution of the City, so as readily to conceive what might be profitable or disadvantageous to it. . . . They should *be firm against* the strongest Temptations, which are Places and preferments, and not be shak'd by Fear, Favour, or Affection.'

The poll was completed on November 1, and Councillor Howard was elected. The paper-war closed with the pamphlet already given: *The Last Speech and Dying Words of the Election*.

It is perhaps impossible to decide what part Swift actually took in it. Alderman Stoyte, it will be remembered, was an old acquaintance of Swift's, and he is constantly inquired after and remembered not only in the *Journal to Stella*, but also in all Swift's letters to Archdeacon Walls—the phrase is generally 'My service to Goody Stoyte. . . .' He was one of the card club referred to by Swift as early as November 1708,¹ 'At the same season three years later'—I quote Dr. Ball's note—'Swift wrote in the *Journal to Stella* that ombre time was coming on, and that she would go to her Dean, or Walls, or Stoytes or Manley, and meet everywhere with cards and claret. It cannot be doubted that the attention shown by these friends to Stella greatly influenced Swift in the partiality which he showed for them.' When he was in Dublin during the winter of 1709–10, he reminds Stella that he conversed with no one, except Mr. Addison, but 'you and your club of Deans and Stoytes'.

Thus although there is no evidence to show that this intimacy continued after Swift's return as Dean of St. Patrick's and although Stoyte was a Whig, it would not be at all unlike Swift to lend an old friend his support. We can be sure that Stoyte was at least allowed to claim the Drapier among his supporters, and it is just possible that the two papers definitely attributed to him and answered by Publicola were Swift's work. It is at least tempting to agree with him that 'whoever carefully examines (them), can have no doubt of His being the Author, if the Likeness of a *Brat* to its *Parent* can be any evidence of the Relation between them'.

But all these doubtful questions do not affect the main point with which we are concerned, nor lessen the interest of this

¹ *Corr.* i. 121.

forgotten controversy in proving the still living force of the Drapier's reputation, and in showing what attempts were made to use the power of his authority.

In a letter to Knightley Chetwode, dated November 23, 1727, Swift remarks, 'As to politics; in England it is hard to keep out of them, and here it is a shame to be in them, unless by way of laughter and ridicule, for both which my taste is gone', and the savour of his most recent experience of Irish politics in the previous month may be lingering in this contemptuous phrase. The futility and pettiness of the strife caused by these Dublin elections is brought out very clearly by subsequent events.

Parliament opened eventually on November 28, 1727, and according to the Journals of the House of Commons seems to have been wholly occupied with routine and local affairs. There is at any rate no evidence that Councillor Howard was guilty of any dangerous intrigues on behalf of his friends the Dissenters. On December 23 he is called to act on certain committees with his fellow representative, Samuel Burton, Esq. and other gentlemen 'to bring in Heads of a Bill to enable the Proprietors of the North Strand near the City of Dublin to continue and finish the Inclosure begun by them on the North side of the River Anna Liffey, and also to examine a petition of the Wool Card Makers and Wire Workers for Redress against the Importation of Foreign Old Cards etc.'

And on December 30 following, he died at his house in Chancery Lane, and was the subject of an *Elegy and Epitaph in Verse* (231) lavishly decorated with funeral engravings; and this was followed by a poem called *The Black Procession, or a description C——r H——d's funeral* (2).

In the by-election which was caused by his death, and which took place very shortly afterwards on January 11, 1727/8, an attempt was made again to keep out Alderman Stoyte. Of this controversy two pamphlets survive. The first is entitled '*Seasonable Queries propos'd to the Consideration of The Citizens of D——n, relating to the Approaching Election.* (174). This refers to the activities of 'the whole Band of Aldermen, running about in Couples from House to House begging Votes for A—— Stoyte'. Then follows an attack on the Alderman and an appeal to the Dissenters to support Mr. Forbes, his opponent

and a worthy follower of Howard, ending with a warning to the Sheriffs to urge them to 'behave with greater Decency and Caution' than they had done at the last election. The second is a reply, *'A few Queries in Answer to Many.'*

Let the Stricken Deer go Weep.—Shakes.

Query. Whether the Author of the late printed Queries hath not done Counsellor Forbes great Prejudice in point of his Election, by his extravagant Zeal and detestable Rancour.' (214).

Alderman Stoyte was elected, and the Drapier's aid was evidently not necessary on this occasion. He sat in Parliament from January 24 until May 6, 1728, when Parliament was prorogued.

In 1729, when Alderman Stoyte died and a fresh election was again necessary, several proclamations from the Drapier were issued to the electors.

First of all there appeared a broadside¹ entitled *The Drapier's advice to the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, urging them to choose Sir William Fownes to serve in Parliament*, and signed *The Drapier*.

Dr. Ball suggests that Swift had issued this while still staying in the country with the Achesons at Market Hill. However, Sir William Fownes did not stand, and Swift himself apparently took no further part in the election. But nevertheless the question of loyalty to the Drapier seems to have been the only test of real importance in choosing between the rival candidates.² A writ was ordered to be issued to the Sheriffs of Dublin for the election on September 23, 1729, and the polling took place without delay; but there was time for an attempt to be made to defeat James Somerville by raising a report that he had not supported the Drapier five years before. This appeared in a paper entitled *Error in Choice, A Mistake on the Right Side*, which purports to be a letter from a Gentleman in the Country, John Voteright. (A.7.5, No. 129.) And an *advertisement* was handed about the streets of Dublin which read as follows:

'All Freemen, Freeholders &c. who have a Vote for a Member to represent the City in Parliament, are desired to take

¹ A.7.5, No. 140 Broadside, with no printer's name or date. See *Works*, xii. 229 and *Corr.* v. 444.

² For further details, see *Dublin Intelligence*, Sept. 28, 30, Oct. 11, 14, 1729.

Notice, that Alderman Somerville was the only Person upon the Jury that Voted for the Currency of Wood's Halfpence.'

But the fullest evidence of the importance still attached to the question of loyalty to the Drapier is provided in the following paper, which must have appeared at this time. It has the further interest of giving a record of the actual division of the Grand Jury which was dissolved by Whitshed. The text is taken from a copy in the Bradshaw Collection, University Library, Cambridge (Hib. 3-730, 1).

THE TRUTH IS OUT AT LAST: RECOMMENDED TO
ALL FREEMAN AND FREEHOLDERS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

I Should not have offer'd any Thing on the present *Election of a Member to Represent You in Parliament*, if the WORTHY DRAPER, for whom I have an honourable Regard, and with whom I was *Seditiously Represented*, had not Preceded Me in this *Affair*. I have (my dear *Fellow-Citizens*) heretofore, for Your Sakes, suffered Imprisonment, nor would I grudge to suffer again, so that I could be any way serviceable to You.

The many *Declarations* of All and Every the *Corporations* of the *Cities* and *Towns Corporate* of this *Kingdom* against *Wood's* Imposition, manifest with what *universal Resentment* They *Opposed* that *Grand Imposter*, yet no Part of this Nation was more distinguishably Remarkable for its *Opposition* than this Our City of *Dublin*, where *one who was against our Friend the DRAPER* Presumes to offer Himself a *Candidate to Represent in Parliament*. I name no One; but the DRAPER, who was the most Concern'd, *openly Declares it was not our present Candidate Alderman PETER VERDOEN*; for it is evident He publicly Resisted that *Grand Imposition*; and the *Records* of the *King's-Bench-Office* will shew that He was *chief in that Grand Opposition*.

I will, as far as possibly I can, assume the DRAPER's *Brevity*, tho' I despair of reaching His *Style*, and tell You That *Alderman Peter Verdoen never Encouraged the Importation of Foreign Manufactures*; That He has not depres'd Our Nation's Trade: But to the contrary, He has laid Out vast Summs in Improvements, Employ'd vast Numbers of Joyners and Carpenters, when some others in this City were paying China Bills and other Foreign Bills.

The County of, as well as this *Honourable City*, would be Reduced to the *Greatest Miseries*, if our Worthy Patriot, Alderman VERDOEN, had not Supply'd US with *Corn*, and, *That*, at a Rate (by Retail) that He could have had for his *whole Stock*; by which it appears, that it is *Our Nation's*, not his *Own private Interest*, that *His Lordship* has most at Heart.

The Worthy DRAPER's Request, my Brethren, that *whenever any of those that would have the BILL Found against Him, presumes to Stand Candidate, in Hopes to be a Member of Parliament, You will remind, &c.*—That You were to be Sold to *Interest*, and when you have put such Men in greater Power, *What more dangerous Consequence may then ensue?*

There is but *one Objection*, I find, that is made against Our Worthy Candidate, Alderman VERDOEN, viz. *That He is not a Native*—: But Those who use that *Objection* forget that, *Strangers labour more for the publick Good, than Natives*; and that it is *Glory to a Foreigner to be accounted a Contributor to the Welfare of a Nation, of which He is become a Free Denizen*.—Such is Our Worthy Candidate; nor can He readily be termed a *Stranger*, being a *Freeman* of some of our *Corporations*, a *Freeholder*, and a *Man of Possession* in our Kingdom; and above all, He is singularly remarkable for *His Adherence to Our Happy Constitution*, which as it makes Us co-Heirs of *Grace*, Unites Us in *one common Welfare* off, whether *Friends or Strangers*.

I believe from what is Premised, may be gather'd for whom *Honest, Sincere, Irish Citizens* should give their *Votes*: For my Part, I never before heard, a *Lover of his Country*, a *Supporter of the Poor*, and *Encourager of Trade*, set on a level with one, who was against Our Friend the DRAPER.

I am, Fellow-Citizens, Your humble servant.

B R U T U S.

A LIST of the *Grand-Jury* that Voted for and against the DRAPER.

These Voted against the DRAPER.		Gentlemen against Finding the BILL.	
John Porter.	David Latouch.	Henry Burrows.	Henry Donevan.
Percivall Hunt.	William Delap.	Jos. Gerrard.	Thomas Corker.
William Dobson.	Thomas Vicars.	William Hayes.	Thomas Gibson.
James Somervell.	John Russett.	Robert Reynard.	Benjamin Archer.
Robert Nesbitt.	And,	John Nicholson.	William Philpott.
Gilbert King.	Wm. Montgomery.	Henry Hart.	William Blood.

These accusations were denied in a printed sheet (139) signed by James Somervill, dated September 24, 1729, and a statement added witnessing his Zeal against the Importation or Currency of Wood's Halfpence, signed by sixteen Members of the dismiss'd Grand Jury, in Michaelmas Term, 1724. In spite of this, however, there appeared on October 11, 1729, an Advertisement publish'd in the name of the Drapier, in which Alderman Verdoen, the Lord Mayor 'returns his hearty Thanks to the Person known by the Name of the Drapier for his support'. This is replied to the same day by a Letter addressed *To the Worthy Freeman and Freeholders of This City* (147) scoffing at the idea of such a crude and absurd piece of work being genuine, and claiming that the Drapier was equally indifferent to both candidates.

The return of Swift to Dublin on October 8, in the middle of the election was made an occasion for public rejoicing. 'On Wednesday last the Reverend Dr. Swift arrived in town from Sir A. Acheson's country seat where he resided for some time, and was received with great joy by many of our principal citizens, who also on the same occasion caused the bells to ring in our cathedrals, and had bonfires and other illuminations.'¹

In view of this it is perhaps not surprising that Swift's approval was the most important consideration in the election, and finally the successful candidate, James Somervell, 'won the day by issuing a letter purporting to be addressed to him by Swift, which 'served it's turn for a day' and induced the weavers to rally to his support'.² I cannot find any copy of this final paper.

On October 24, 1729, 'James Somerville Esq; returned to serve in this Parliament as a Citizen for the City of *Dublin* in the Room of *John Stoyte* Esq; deceased, took the Oaths, &c.'³

To complete the account of the Drapier's activities in Dublin Parliamentary elections it is necessary to refer also to the paper which Swift wrote in 1733 to support the Lord Mayor, Humphrey French, who was elected to the seat in Parliament vacant on the death of Samuel Burton. It was entitled *ADVICE to the Freeman of the City of Dublin, in the choice of a Member to Represent them in Parliament* and has been accepted by all

¹ *Dublin Intelligence*, Oct. 11—quoted by Dr. Ball, *Corr.* iv. 103.

² *Op. cit.*

³ *Commons' Journals*, iii. 590.

editors as Swift's work since it was first reprinted by Faulkner.¹ I recently found a copy of the original pamphlet in a box of uncatalogued material in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The text of this was reprinted accurately by Faulkner with the usual modifications of spelling and punctuation.

I do not know any reason to doubt Swift's authorship; but it follows, I think, that if Swift wrote this, he probably also had a hand in at least two of the papers written on behalf of Alderman Stoyte. For there is a remarkable similarity in the arguments used on each occasion.

For instance, the main argument is that it is dangerous to elect a member who either has, or wants a Place or Employment under the Crown—'after you have chosen him, he will never have you once in his Thoughts; He hath another Game in hand, how he may seek Profit and Honour to himself, by pleasing the Mighty.' And again, there are the same indirect references to the opinion of the Drapier.

Swift had written cynically of Irish politics in 1727. 'I suppose there will be as much mischief as interest, folly, ambition and faction can bring about. But let those who are younger than I look to the consequences. The public is an old tattered house, but may last as long as my lease in it, and therefore like a true Irish tenant I shall consider no further.'² Nevertheless he was unable to hinder the Drapier³ from contriving to take an active part even in these trivial struggles between Dublin politicians.

¹ *Works* (1746), viii. 196–205, reprinted in *Works*, vii. 311–16.

² *Corr.* iii. 429.

³ For other papers issued under the Drapier's name, see the list of *Imitations of the Drapier*, Appendix IV.

APPENDIX II

Other Pamphlets and Broad­sides in Prose concerning Wood's Coinage

THE following is a list of all the pamphlets and broadsides I have found concerned with the controversy.

Monck Mason gives in his valuable notes the titles of twenty pieces in prose, besides the seven letters, and refers to the resolutions of the various public bodies, the declaration of the guilds, and the three broadsides which printed the declaration of the grand-jury and inhabitants of St. Patrick's, the petition of the lord mayor, sheriffs, &c., of the city of Dublin, and the presentment of the Grand-Jury of the county of the city of Dublin. He also listed twenty-two pieces in verse, noting that of the twelve which had been attributed to Swift by various editors, 'some are quite unworthy of him; and, as they have not internal evidence, so they want every other proof of being his composition'; Spencer Jackson added considerably to this list in his bibliography, which was published in 1908; but he does not seem to have been aware of an admirable piece of work, which was privately printed in 1907 by H. R. Wagner, entitled *Irish Economics: 1700-1783 A Bibliography with Notes*. This contains the fullest and most accurate list of all the papers concerned with Wood, with the full title, short description, press-marks of the copies examined, and very good comments on the more important pieces. I am greatly indebted to this work, and have been able to add only one or two fresh titles, and some further particulars of date and authorship. It is impossible to give the exact dates for all or even for the longer pieces in prose, but I have tried to arrange them as nearly as I could in chronological order. I have followed Mr. Wagner's method, adding only the whereabouts of other copies I have seen.

1. Ireland's Consternation In the loosing of Two Hundred Thousand Pound of their Gold and Silver for Brass Money. Set forth by an Artificer in Metals And a Citizen of Dublin. Shewing the fatal Consequence of Coining in another Kingdom Three Hundred Tun Weight of Copper Half-pence, amounting to the Damage of Two Hundred Thousand

°Pounds Sterl. to this Nation, and the Continuance of the same for Fourteen Years.

Folio. 4 pages.

T.C.D.; P.R.O. (with contemporary MS. notes).

(This is almost certainly the first tract which started the campaign. It was written by James Maculla, and appeared probably in August, 1723 (see *Introd.*, p. xviii). It consists of fifteen Queries and Answers, and as the title suggests is inclined to exaggerate the consequences of the Patent. The main objections are that the Coins are made of Irish copper, not perfectly refined; that nothing can prevent a much larger quantity being sent over than allowed in the Grant: that the profit goes to England, though they could be better manufactured in Ireland. But the Irish Parliament is about to take action, and in the meantime, all persons should refuse to take them.)

2. Ireland's Case Humbly presented to the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, by an Artificer in Metals and a Citizen of Dublin, shewing why Two Hundred Thousand Pounds of light Copper Half-pence should not pass in this Kingdom for the Gold and Silver of the Nation. Folio. 3 pages.

Forster; Wake MSS.

(This was also probably written by James Maculla, and seems to be an address intended for the consideration of the Irish House of Commons, during their investigations of the Patent in September, 1723. It consists of a list of twenty-eight objections (reprinted in *Works*, vi. 241-5) and concludes with a 29th paragraph, containing six positive proposals, recommending that a convenient amount of copper money, of the same quality as that current in England, should be manufactured in Dublin, and in addition enough silver threepences and fourpences of sterling value to remedy the scarcity of silver.)

3. The Patentee's Computation of Ireland, In a Letter from the Author of the Whitehall Evening-Post concerning the making of Copper-Coin. As Also the Case and Address Of Both Houses of Parliament, Together with His Majesty's most Gracious Answer, To The House of Lord's Address.

Dublin: Printed by John Whalley in Arundel-Court just without St. Nicholas Gate 1723.

4to. 12 pages.

Haliday.

(This includes: A *Letter* in favour of Wood, signed A.B. which, as Wagner says, may be reduced to the following propositions: 'Ireland wants copper coin; the quantity would be no inconvenience; they are better than any hitherto—or probably ever will be; the King will lose nothing, the Public will gain, and the Kingdom will have £100,000 additional current cash.' An *Answer*, signed C.D.; *Ireland's Case*, &c. (see no. 2 above); the recent Addresses of both Houses of Parliament to the King and his Answer to the House of Lords (see pp. 193-5).

This Answer was only received in Ireland on November 16, 1723; and it is hardly likely that it would be published before it was presented to the House of Lords, when they met on December 12. It is probable, therefore, that this tract appeared either late in December, or in January, 1723-4.

It is an important publication, giving the arguments on both sides, and summing up the position at the moment when the official protests from Ireland had been made and received, before the popular movement to boycott the coinage had been started.)

4. A Creed For An Irish Commoner.

Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724.

Broadside.

Forster; Gilbert; Seligman.

(Monck Mason quotes part of this paper (*St. Patrick's*, p. 339, note c.) which ridicules the story of Grafton's secretary losing the exemplification of the Patent. As this happened in September 1723, it is most probable that this Broadside was issued early in 1724. It is very crude irony, best indicated by a few quotations: '*Imprimis*, You must believe Twelve-penny Worth of *Wood's Copper* as valuable as Thirty-penny Worth of *Silver*. *Item*, you must believe the Minister who Originally Recommended *Wood's PATENT* to his M——y, was a True Friend to, and Zealous Lover of your Country; that he was Over-persuaded by *Wood*, the Project was undertaken merely for the Benefit of IRELAND . . . All done *Gratis*, . . . No Sharers . . . Nor any Palm Daubed . . .

Item, That neither *Vander-Hop* nor his *Master* knew one Word of the *PATENT* before their Information from the Commissioners of the Revenue; and that Sir OWEN's first Intelli-

gence on which that Remonstrance was grounded, . . . was . . . Good Lord! A Publick News-Letter.

Item, You must believe, and I will not abate you a Tittle of this Article of your Faith . . . That the Copy of LETTERS PATENT which the Wise and Honest *Van Hop's* Master produced to the Lord *Midleton* in *London*, was . . . any Earthly Thing but that . . .

N.B. The Seligman copy has been fully annotated by a contemporary reader.)

5. The True State of the Case Between The Kingdom of Ireland of the One Part, And Mr. William Wood Of the Other Part. By a Protestant of Ireland.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, in Fishamble-Street, 1724.

8vo. 8 pages.

T.C.D.; K.I.D.; C.C.C. Oxford.

(Wagner notes that this was 'written evidently in 1723. Already the coins are not the same, and some that were brought in are claimed to be counterfeits. There is plenty of Halfpence of the old Patent in the country, and they only need a few farthings. Very calm and yet forceful protest against the Halfpence. Ascribed in T.C.D. Cat. to Swift, and reprinted by Sir Walter Scott from T.C.D. copy. . . . It is probable that this is the Tract, generally ascribed to the Earl of Abercorn, which Swift mentions in his Letter to Lord Carteret of April 28, 1724.'

This conjecture is further supported by the fact that I found a copy of the tract among the *Wake MSS.* (vol. ccxlvii) in Christ Church Library, Oxford, enclosed in a letter from Archbishop Syngé, dated April 25, 1724, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, asking him to use his influence against the patent.

6. A Letter from Dublin, to William Wood, Esquire.

Printed in the Year 1724.

8vo. 23 pages.

Goldsmiths; Seligman; Y.C.L.

(This is dated Dublin, April 25, 1724, and begins by referring to the reports of Wood's success, as published in the *Daily Courant*, April 10, 1724, and most of the other papers, reporting that no witnesses had appeared to prove the mischiefs complained of. Suggests that if due notice had been given, many of those living in England who have estates in Ireland would have

appeared. The whole matter had been fully investigated by the Parliament in Ireland, who in replying to his Majesty's answer to their addresses, had again asked that directions might be given to the officers of the revenue on no pretence whatsoever to receive or utter such coin. As to Parliament's right to interfere, quotes very effectively the speech of Queen Elizabeth, Nov. 30, 1601, thanking her Parliament for pointing out grievances attendant upon such private Grants. Ends with a list of Lords and others living in England who have estates or places in Ireland.

The Yale copy contains on the title-page the name of *Ed. Southwell* written in ink in a contemporary hand. Mr. Wagner has added a note to face p. 19 in the interleaved copy of his bibliography at Yale referring to this tract. The special information concerning Irishmen in England would naturally be available to Southwell, as Irish Secretary, and there is little doubt that he wrote it.)

7. A Letter To William Woods, Esq; From his Only Friend in Ireland. To William Woods, Esq;—At his Copper-Works at Bristol, or elsewhere (Signed) Your real Friend, and Humble Servant, Hibernicus.

Printed by J. Carson in Coghill's Court in Dame's-Street 1724.
Half-sheet, folio. 2 pages.

Forster.

(This is an early tract, probably following Swift's first letter, some of the points of which are drawn out further. Great admiration is expressed for Wood, who has discovered the *Grand Secret* to extract out of basest Copper 'pure Gold and Silver, at above *Cent. per Cent.* Profit, *Monstrous Gain! Prodigious Art!* and all this without the Art of Chymistry, only by greasing and daubing in a proper Place. . . ' and admiration too for the great mass of his coin. Moneyed men will need warehouses instead of a strong box, 'and a man or two to carry the Common Expences of the Day'. Pickpockets will have to reform and take up some other trade. But lest his irony should be misunderstood, he concludes very bluntly—'*The Lord confound you and all your Devices*'.

This tract was reprinted in Swift's *Works* (1824), vii. 73.)

8. The Drapier Demolished And Set out in his own Proper Colours; being a full Confutation of all his Arguments against Mr. Wood's Halfpence. By William Wood, Esq;

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-street.

8vo. 8 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.; K.I.D.; Gilbert; Bradshaw.

(Wagner suggests that this was written five or six months after the first *Drapier Letter*. Entirely ironical and reads very much like Swift's writing, and so ascribed in T.C.D. collection. It is full of quotations from the First Letter, and seems to me much more likely to have been written by one of Swift's friends in April or May 1724. It was reprinted in *Miscellanies, The Ninth Volume*, 1748.) (See note to p. 3, ll. 4, 15.)

9. A Word of Advice: Or, A Friendly Caution To the Collectors of Ireland, In Relation to Wood's Brass-Money.

Dublin: Printed by William Wilmot, on the Blind-Key, 1724.

8vo. 15 pages.

N.L.D.

(This is signed Cato Ultonensis. Wagner is the first to mention this tract, which he found in the Dix Collection, and describes as follows: 'Raises the legal doubt about the right of the Collectors of the Revenue to take anything except the current money of England, which brass counters not current in England are not. He based this on a Statute of 14 and 15 of Charles II, and asserts that Mr. Wood's Patent does not make the coins legal, and the Prerogative must give way to the Statute Law. Knox's Patent was on a different footing, because Knox was obliged to change his coin for gold and silver.'))

10. The Soldier's Plea: against Receiving Mr Wood's Brass-Money.

Dublin: Printed by W. Wilmot. MDCCXXIV.

8vo. 8 pages.

N.L.D.; Gilbert; Seligman.

(This is a very well-written piece, as from a simple person who had spoken to a 'Gentleman very well Vers'd in the Law', also noted for the first time by Wagner, who describes it as follows: 'Speaks of a Report that the Army is to be paid with Wood's Coin, the soldiers being obliged to pass it off for necessities or starve. Appeals to the Statute of 14 and 15 Charles II, for protection against taking this coin, until it be made current in

England. The Patent left it to the choice of his Majesty's subjects to receive or reject the Coin. Evidently by the same author as no. 9.'

Swift also refers to the danger of Wood getting his coin introduced by having the army paid with it; see *notes* to p. 6, l. 25 and p. 7, l. 2.)

11. Another Letter To Mr. Harding the Printer, Upon Occasion of the Report of the Committee Of The Lords of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy-Council, In Relation to Mr. Wood's Half Pence and Farthings, &c. lately Publish'd. Broadside.

B.M.; *Forster*.

(Monck Mason thought that this was probably written by Swift himself (*St. Patrick's*, p. 342, n. i), and Spenser Jackson includes it among Swift's genuine works, although Temple Scott had attributed it to Sheridan. It is an amusing little paper, and Faulkner would certainly have printed it in 1735, or later, if it had really been by Swift. See *note* to p. 61, l. 20, where it is reprinted in full.)

12. A Word or Two To The People of Ireland, Concerning The Brass Money that is, and shall be Coin'd by Mr Woods, and which he is endeavouring to Impose upon Us.

By a Well-wisher to his Country.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-street.

8vo. 16 pages.

Haliday; Bradshaw; Seligman; Y.C.L.

(This tract was evidently begun after reading the report from the London newspapers, dated July 25, printed by John Harding in his *Post-Boy* of Friday, July 31, 1724, with this comment: '*The Printer of this Paper leaves the Intention of the above Paragraph to the serious Consideration of every True Well-Wisher to Ireland.*' It was published on Aug. 19, according to an announcement in Harding's *Dublin Impartial News Letter* of Aug. 18. It advertises 'Mr. B. the Drapier's two Letters, which I don't doubt have been carefully perus'd by all in this City; and if some Pains and Care be taken will soon make their Way thro' his Kingdom', and was probably written by one of Swift's friends. In a sort of postscript, added at the last moment—it

seems to refer to the full copy of the Report, which reached Swift on August 18:—‘Since the Writing of this, we have receiv’d a fresh Alarm of Forty Thousand Pounds of the Half-pence that are to be poured in upon Us;’ and concludes with a rumour that ‘a Certain Great Man’ has threatened to resign all his employments, if the halfpence are legitimated.)

13. A Letter From A Lady of Quality To Mr Harding the Printer, Occasionally Writ upon the General Out-Cry against Wood’s Halfpence.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth’s Court in Fishamble-Street, 1724.

8vo. 8 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.; Gilbert.

(This letter is signed Hibernia, and dated Aug. 22, 1724. It contains a reference to the ‘Two late Ingenious Letters of the *Drapier*’, but is certainly not I think Swift’s work, as suggested by an earlier owner of the copy now in the B.M., and also by Wagner.

It is an amusing paper, protesting that the ladies have not been consulted, although they are very closely concerned, as most of their dress comes from abroad, and could not be bought with Wood’s coin. Suggests a general meeting of the ladies and an address from them to his most serene Majesty.

According to an announcement in Harding’s *Dublin Impartial News Letter* of Aug. 25, it was published on Aug. 26, 1724.)

14. A Letter To The Lord C——t, In Answer to some Arguments lately advanced in Favour of Mr Wood’s Copper Money.

By a Member of the Irish Parliament.

Dublin: Printed by S. Powell, for George Ewin, Bookseller, at the Sign of the Angel and Bible in Dames-Street, over against the Castle-Market, 1724.

8vo. 16 pages.

K.I.D.; Haliday; Bradshaw; Y.C.L.

(This is dated Cork, Aug. 28, 1724. After compliments to Carteret, refers to the many official protests from Ireland, and the extraordinary procedure of asking for other witnesses. Pours contempt on Brown (quoting the Resolutions of the Irish

House of Commons against him of Nov. 5, 1723), and the other witnesses obtained by Wood. States that Wood's halfpence have already a sort of illegal currency in North and South Briton—'last week a Scotch Man bought a Quantity of them in *Dublin* at a low Price, from one of Mr Wood's Agents, to disperse in his own Country. *So little does Mr Wood regard the restrictions of his Patent.*' As to Newton's report, 'no one can be surprized at Mr Controller and Mr Wood agreeing in every particular'.)

15. Remarks Upon Mr. Wood's Coyn And Proceedings. Salus Populi, Suprema lex est. By Sir Michael Creagh.

Dublin: Printed by William Wilmot on the Blind-Key, 1724.

8vo. 16 pages.

T.C.D.; Haliday; Y.C.L.

(This tract was first noticed by Wagner, who refers to Gilbert's account of Sir M. Creagh's curious career—Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1689, and forced to take the part of James II, but quitted his service as soon as possible and retired to Holland. But, as he complains in his petition to Carteret of Sept. 20, 1725, he was indicted and outlawed for not having quitted his station before Feb. 25, 1689, and his estate seized.

Apart from the usual objections against the coin, that it was debased and that 'under the notion of coyning but Forty Thousand, he may Coyn in *England, Ireland, and Scotland*, for *Ireland* alone, above 200 Thousand, in a Clandestine way, and so bring all that Brass upon this Nation in such a Measure, as to sweep away all their Silver and Gold' . . . he refers to the general disadvantages Ireland suffers in trade and commerce by her dependency upon England, and suggests that Ireland would welcome a Union. And as to Wood's scheme, he has a new original idea as to final responsibility for it: 'it's well known, That the Person, whose Talents were always employed for the Ruin of the Publick . . . and his being the leading Card to the misfortunes of the *South-Sea*, is now actually at the Court of Great-Britain, and without Doubt, at the Bottom of Mr Wood's Affair, in Order to make *Ireland* partake in the Curse he brought elsewhere, for he cannot be at quiet anywhere.')

16. An Express from Elisium, To The once-Rev'd. Dr. M—gee, Couple-Beggar, Shewing The only Way for W. Wood, to Gain the Hearts of the unjustly irritated Hibernians, and make them receive, without Reluctancy: the Brass-Coin. With

Advice how to Manage (and some Observations on) M.B. Drapier.

Written by the Late Famous Captain Fleming.

Dublin, Printed in the Year 1724.

Broadside.

B.M.

(This was evidently written about September, as it refers to the universal murmur of the Hibernians, and the declarations of all the 'Corporations of your Grand Metropolis, . . . even the *volitant Stationers*, alias News-Boys, not excepted'. It is reported in *Elisium*, that 'all that Bustle was raised about a few Farthings, which an *Englishman*, after the *inneat* Generosity of his Country, had designedly Coyned for the Advantage and Ease of Your Ungrateful Island. And that a certain *discontented whimsical Drapier* in Order to confront *Regal Authority*, and to Create irreconcilable Differences between you and your generous Neighbours, had Wrote several Seditious, Scrutinous Pamphlets, villifying the intrinsick Value of the said Coin.' Wood is advised to turn a vast Quantity of his Drossy Copper into *Genium Gold-Dust*, and to throw it into the Drapier's eyes, or let the Drapier be exalted 'one *Graid* above the Assendant of *St Patrick's Steeple*', and he will quickly change his tune.)

17. An Apology For Mr Wood, &c. Address'd to all true Lovers of their Country.

Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724.

Folio, single sheet. 2 pages.

Forster.

(Monck Mason has the following note: 'This humorously compares Wood to Lycurgus, who, knowing the danger of riches to a state, determined to make money a burthen rather than an advantage.' Refers to the Papers printed on this subject by an ingenious Draper, so that it probably dates from September 1724. A very neat and well-written irony.)

18. Wood's Plot Discover'd By A Member of His Society; With His Apology to his Country-Men.

Dublin: Printed by G. N. opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane,
MDCCXXIV.

8vo. 14 pages.

B.M.; *Seligman*.

(Supposed to be written by a Tinker, and one 'acquainted with the designs of the enemy'. A very crude imitation of Swift. 'Look ye, you know what I am, as I told you before: *Tinker* as I am, Gentlemen, believe me, I'll give you leave to cut off the biggest Button I have, and that's my Head, if ever you get any benefit by this new found Coyner, or his Money either. But if you have a Mind to have the Curse of the Nation, I'll put you in a fair Way for it.

ADVERTISEMENT.

All you that have a Mind to part with your *Gold* and *Silver*, to purchase a Parcel of base, mixt-Mettal *Half-Pence*, repair a way to Mr. *Wood's* Lodgings at *Bristol*, or elsewhere, and for every *Twenty-Shillings* you bring with you, you shall have *Thirty-Shillings* of as good *Copper Half-Pence* as ever was intended by him for *Ireland*.)

19. Woods's Confession To The Mobb of the City of Dublin.

Dublin: Printed by C.G. 1724.

Broadside.

Forster.

(Mason includes this in his list, and it was reprinted in Swift's *Works* (1814), vii. 301. It is a parody of the usual Dying Words and confession of the criminal about to be hanged, and was probably suggested by the mock execution of Wood in effigy in Dublin, which took place on Sept. 7, 1724. Cf. also Swift's 'A full and true account of the solemn procession to the gallows, at the execution of William Wood, Esquire and Hardwareman.' See above, p. 173.)

20. A Letter From a Quaker-Merch^t. to Will. Wood, Hard-Ware-Man.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-Street, 1724.

8vo. 16 pages.

T.C.D.

(Addressed to Friend William and signed 'I am thy Friend if

thou beest mine, Aminadab Firebrass.' It consists of an amusing array of texts, and some shrewd hits at Absentees, Pensioners, &c. e.g. 'If thou comest after these, there will be a quick Dispatch of all we are worth, and then we might wretchedly complain with the Prophet Joel, *c. i. v. 4* "That which the Palmer-Worm hath left, hath the Locust eaten; and that which the Locust hath left, hath the Canker-worm eaten." There is no Man who considereth the Nature of Brass can be at a loss to know who is meant by the Canker-Worm.' Finally points out that there is no need for any Copper money at all, and pleasantly demonstrates it by this proof: 'Harding the Printer hath in one week received a vast Quantity of *Half-pence* for Papers written against thee, by *my much esteemed Friend the Drapier*, whose Praises we cannot enough set forth.'

The date of this tract can be fixed from an advertisement, announcing its publication on Sept. 15, 1724, which appeared in Harding's *Dublin News Letter* of that date; cf. also the Broadside in verse addressed to the Drapier by the same Aminadab Firebrass.

It is suggested by Dr. Elrington Ball that the author was George Rooke, senior, the spokesman of his sect, and one held in high repute by his fellow citizens. He was also a linen draper; and 'his employment may have suggested to Swift the assumption of that role'. *Corr.* iii. 220. And see above, p. xlv.)

21. The Present State Of Ireland Consider'd: In a Letter to The Rev^d Dean Swift. By a True Patriot.

Printed in the Year 1724.

8vo. 8 pages.

T.C.D.; N.L.D.

(This tract is signed *Hibernicus*, and Wagner suggests that it was probably written by Sheridan. It would be difficult to prove this. It refers to the Drapier's Letters, but is largely concerned with other grievances than Wood: Absentees, restrictions against exporting wool, offices in Ireland being filled by Englishmen, and the dependent state of the Irish Parliament.

The publishers of this seditious pamphlet were apprehended on Sept. 24, 1724, and bound over to appear at the King's Bench term, and a warrant was issued against the reputed author. See letter from the Mayor of Dublin to the Lords Justices of Ireland, dated Oct. 17, 1724, printed by Coxe, *Walpole*, ii. 365.)

22. Some Considerations On The Attempts Made to Pass Mr Wood's Brass-Money In Ireland. By a Lover of his Country. *Dublin: Printed by Pressick Rider and Thomas Harbin, at the General-Post-Office Printing-House in the Exchange on Cork-Hill, 1724.*

Folio. 4 pages.

Forster; Haliday; Seligman.

(The author of this and the following excellent tract is generally agreed to have been David Bindon. It must have been written after Sept. 8, as there is a reference to the Petition of the City of Dublin, which was signed on that date. It was reprinted in *Fraud Detected* (1725), pp. 157-68, and again in the *Hibernian Patriot* (1730), pp. 183-96. It will be found in full above, pp. 240-7.)

23. Some Reasons Shewing the Necessity the People of Ireland are under, for Continuing to refuse Mr. Wood's Coinage. By the Author of the Considerations.

Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXIV.

8vo. 28 pages.

B.M.; Bod.; T.C.D.; N.L.D.; *Haliday; Gilbert; Goldsmiths* (2); *Seligman; Y.C.L.*

(This is, as Wagner says, one of the best tracts on the subject. But when he says it is far superior to Swift's, and indeed possible that the facts of Swift's third letter were taken from it, he is forgetting that it appeared just a month later. The date is fixed by an advertisement in the *Dublin Gazette* for Sept. 30, 1724, announcing it as 'in the Press and will be speedily published'. There were at least two issues of it, copies of both, showing a number of variants, being in the Goldsmith's Library. The excellent short dedication to Lord Midleton is signed D.B. and the author was probably David Bindon.

Reprinted in *Fraud Detected*, pp. 169-213, and in the *Hibernian Patriot*, pp. 197-247. See also above, pp. 205-9.)

24. Some farther Account Of The Original Disputes In Ireland, About Farthings and Halfpence. In A Discourse With A Quaker of Dublin.

Printed in the Year 1724.

8vo. 47 pages.

B.M.; Bradshaw; Goldsmiths; Seligman; Y.C.L.

(This tract was first noticed by Wagner, who speaks of it as the only publication he had seen setting forth Wood's side of the case; no doubt circulated in Ireland, indeed having the appearance of being printed there. It is, of course, the tract referred to by Swift at the end of the fourth letter—"There was a few Days ago a Pamphlet sent me of near 50 Pages Written in Favour of Mr Wood and his Coynage, Printed in London, it is not worth answering, because probably it will never be published here:" Swift quotes from it at some length, to give a specimen of how the man employs his time, 'although these and the like Pamphlets publish'd by Wood in London be altogether unknown here'. Part of the argument—which Swift entirely ignores—is concerned with Walpole's great care in drawing up the Patent, and in providing for adequate control to insure that its specifications would be adequately followed. Objections raised in English papers, e.g. *Mist's Journal*, the *Whitehall Evening Post*, *Boyer's Political State* are said to be so weak that Wood is suspected of prompting these cavils, in order to have the advantage of exposing them. It justifies the difference between English and Irish copper coinage on account of Wood's extra expenses, rate of exchange, &c.

It must therefore have appeared before October 1724. For further references to it, see *note* to p. 81, l. 3.)

25. A Letter To William Wood, From A Member of that Society of Men, who in Derision are Call'd, Quakers.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Court. Broadside.

Forster.

(This was an epistle writ to bring 'Friend William' to some sense of his duty and his folly. . . 'truly I marvel at thy great Imprudence, in feeding thyself up with Hopes of ever accomplishing thy Sinister Ends, since thou canst not but hear Report of Friend *Jonathan's* miraculous Performances in Three Successive Operations, wherein he hath given Sight unto those which be Blind, Hearing unto the Deaf, and Speech unto them which lacketh Understanding. . .')

This was evidently written in Sept. 1724. It may also have been written by George Rooke. It is included in Monck Mason's list, and was reprinted in Swift's *Works* (1824), vii. 78.)

26. The Funeral Of Wood's Halfpence. A Sermon Preach d against Coining of Base Money. By a Divine of the Church of England.

Dublin: Printed by J. Carson, in Coghill's-Court, Dames-Street, 1724.

12mo. 22 pages.

Bradshaw.

(Wagner describes this as not a sermon, but a dissertation on money, and notes that he has only seen this one copy. I might add that there is no copy known in the Bodleian, as given in the Spencer Jackson Bibliography. The title-page is surrounded with a deep black-edged border, like a funeral sermon. The text is *Genesis* xxiii. 16: 'And Abraham weighed to Ephron the Silver which he had named in the audience of the Sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of Silver, Currant Money, with the Merchants.' The discourse is concerned with three points: the use and necessity of money for carrying on the trade and commerce of the world, the mischiefs of corrupting and debasing money, and the reasonableness of the laws that punish such offenders. There is nothing to indicate the exact date or the author.)

27. Advice To The Roman Catholics Of Ireland. Concerning Wood's Halfpence.

Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXIV.

8vo. 15 pages.

T.C.D.; *Seligman.*

(This was first noticed by Wagner, who describes it as using Wood's Halfpence as a text to preach against the trash of priestly coining. There is nothing to indicate either date or author.)

28. A Letter from Cork to Mr Harding the Printer. Upon Occasion of the fresh Alarm of Wood's Halfpence.

Signed T.B. and dated from Cork, Oct. 1.

Published in Harding's *Dublin Impartial News Letter*, Saturday, Oct. 10, 1724.

Gilbert.

(This was not published separately as a tract, as far as I know, but it is interesting as possibly a second letter from the member of Parliament, who addressed a letter to Lord Carteret, from Cork on Aug. 28. It contains one new point, that a debased

coinage must necessarily be the ruin of foreign import trade, quoting Sir William Pettie's *Quantulumcunque* as an authority for his point of view. Refers also to the *Quaker* and the *Drapier*.)

29. A Short Defence of the People of Ireland, Occasion'd by the View of a Letter from Mr Wood, To one of the Managers of his Copper Halfpence in Bristol. . . .

Bristol: Printed, and Re-printed in Dublin by Pressick Rider, and Thomas Harbin, in the Exchange on Cork-hill, 1724.

12 mo. 8 pages.

Bradshaw.

(An advertisement on page 2 gives the following explanation: 'The following Lines were wrote by some Gentlemen of *Bristol*, and printed there, and are Reprinted here, to shew the People of this Kingdom, that they are not without Advocates for their Cause in *England*, and that several Persons there have a just Sense of *Wood's* ill Designs on this Kingdom.' Refers to a letter from Wood to one of his Bristol agents threatening the impudent Irish that Walpole would soon be in town, and would take measures to make his money pass. And asks amusingly enough what sort of clamour there would be in England if 'our Gold and Silver must be exchange'd for Damn'd *Irish* Raps?')

Note Swift's reference to this paper (see p. 85, l. 4). It must have appeared in Dublin therefore before Oct. 13, 1724.)

30. A Defence of the Conduct of the People of Ireland, In their unanimous Refusal of Mr Wood's Copper-Money. Wherein all the Arguments advanced in Favour of it, are particularly considered.

Dublin: Printed for George Ewing, at the Angel and Bible in Dames-Street, MDCCXXIV.

8vo. 39 pages. 2nd edition in the same year, 45 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.; *Haliday*; N.L.D. (2); *Goldsmiths* (2); *Bradshaw* (3); C.C.C. Oxford (2); *Seligman*; Y.C.L.

(Wagner very justifiably describes this as 'an extremely well-written Tract, containing the history of Irish Copper Coinage and an account of the proceedings in relation to Wood's Patent . . . considers the effect which a currency of this copper money would have on the Trade and Manufactures of Ireland. The Author for a long time was supposed to be Dean Swift,' and the pamphlet was included in some editions of his works, but it is

certainly not by him.' One might add that it seems to have a semi-official character, as it refers to the early correspondence from the Commissioners and from the Irish Parliament. All Wood's arguments are refuted in detail. There is no reference to the Drapier's Letters, but only to the Proclamation against him; it could not, therefore, have been written before November 1724. It is frequently referred to by Monck Mason in his account of Wood's coinage.)

31. The Fifth and Last Letter To the People of Ireland In Reference to Wood and his Brass.

Dublin: Printed in the Year Mdcxxxiv.

8vo. 14 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.

(A wordy effort, also signed *Hibernicus*, and evidently written after Swift's Fourth Letter. Praises 'the *Loyal* and *true public-spirited Writings* of some among us', inveighs against the impiety of Ireland, which has produced these evils, and the blindness of England in allowing these injuries, and thus indirectly damaging herself. One good thing, however, has come out of this Wood affair—a complete unity of all parties and factions.)

32. The Sixth Letter To The Whole People Of Ireland.

By An Ancient Patriot. . . .

Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724.

8vo. 15 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.

(This is signed 'your Well Wisher', but it may be assumed from the title and the use of the same tail-piece on page 4, that it is from the same hand and press as the preceding pamphlet. The design is simply to confirm the resentment against Wood, already expressed in the Declarations of the several Counties and Corporations, and by the '*Grand Furors* lately dissolved on Account of the Discoverers of his Villainy'. This last reference shows that it could not have been written before December, 1724.)

33. A Letter From A Friend To the Right Honourable——.

Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724.

Half-sheet, folio. 2 pages.

Forster; Goldsmiths; T.C.D.; Haliday.

(Dated Dec. the First 1724, and signed 'N.N.' Monck Mason notes of this and the following letter: 'Two severe letters were likewise addressed to the chief justice which, as they exhibit more legal knowledge than it is probable Swift possessed, were perhaps written by Mr Rob. Lindsay, an eminent lawyer, and Swift's intimate friend, whose legal advice he used, during the whole controversy;' reprinted in Swift's *Works* (1814), vii. 201, and in this edition p. 272.)

34. A Second Letter From A Friend To the Right Honourable—
Folio. 4 pages.

B.M.; *Forster*; *Goldsmiths*; *Haliday*.

(Dated Jan. 4, 1724-5, and signed 'N.N.' Reprinted Swift's *Works* (1814), vii. 206, and in this edition p. 277.)

35. A Letter from the Right Hon.— To the Reverend
N. N.

Broadside.

Forster; T.C.D.

(Undated, signed 'O.O.' A clever reply, which seems to assume that 'N.N.' is Swift. Ironical remarks on his indefatigable zeal for Ireland, and a suggestion that the Jurors were only dismissed for openly perjuring themselves.)

36. A Third Letter From—— To the——
Half-sheet, folio. 2 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.

(Undated, signed 'N.N.' No reference to Wood or Whitshed. A general homily on the danger of ambition and avarice, and the necessity for intrepidity and firmness in all true ministers.)

37. Fourth Letter To the Right Honourable——
Folio. 4 pages.

B.M.

(Undated, signed 'N.N.' Contains examples of punishment meted out to unjust judges, justified by an observation of Thucydides: 'Mankind resent Injustice in a Magistrate from whom they expect Protection more than open Violence or Robbery on the Highways;' including the story of Cambyses,

referred to by Swift in *Letter V* (p. 114, l. 30 and see *note*); and quoting at the end Lord Bacon's Letter to the House of Lords, in which he nobly 'condemn'd himself, and seem'd to take a Pleasure in the Good, so great an Example of Justice wou'd do to Mankind'.

38. A Letter ascrib'd to the Rt. Honble the Ld C——f
J——st——e W——.

Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Broadside.

B.M.

(A *MS.* note on this copy adds the date 'Jan ye 12th 1724'. Ironically praises 'those extraordinary innate Principles of Justice which are so wonderfully centered in' Whitshed, notwithstanding the opinion of the vulgar, who always choose rather 'to follow the gross Errors of one of their own unthinking Multitude, than the most wise or most prudent Counsellor'. 'A late Author, fam'd for Controversy, very well understood this, when to bring the Minds of a whole People to his Will, he took upon him the Name of a Drapier, knowing their obstinate Tempers would rather bend to one of their own Stamp, than nod at the Sight of a Gentleman, in which he was pretty successful; and under that Title pretended to know more Law, Justice, and Equity than your Lordship, and would induce his loving Brethren to have the same humble Opinion of his own Abilities.')

39. A Letter To M. B. Drapier. Author of a Letter to the L^d Molesworth, &c. . . . (signed *Misoxulos*).

Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5.

8vo. 16 pages.

Bradshaw; Haliday; Y.C.L.

(Compliments the Drapier. Refers to the Rights and Privileges granted to the people of Ireland by Henry II and III which assured them the same liberties as the people of England. Discusses the duties of a Judge and Jurors, quoting the excellent rules drawn up by Sir *Matthew Hale*. This is not as good as the former letter from *Misoxulos*, addressed to Mr. Harding, (see p. 247) and is of course not necessarily by the same hand. See also *note* to p. 105, l. 14.)

40. Seasonable Advice To M, B. Drapier. Occasion'd by his Letter to the Rt. Hon. the Lord Visct. Molesworth.

(signed M.M.)

Half-sheet; folio, 2 pages.

B.M.; *Forster; Gilbert.*

(Wagner attributes this amusing skit 'without doubt' to Swift himself. I do not think this is at all probable; but on the other hand it is hardly meant to be taken as seriously as Temple Scott's note would suggest (vi. 168). The main point seems to be to compliment Swift on remaining undiscovered, and to show the unwavering opposition and aversion shown by all Irishmen to Wood's project. Further references will be found in the notes to *Letter V*, pp. 293-4.)

41. Tom Punsibi's Dream.

Dublin: Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Half-sheet, folio, 2 pages.

B.M.; *Forster; Gilbert; Y.C.L.*

(This is reprinted in Swift's *Works* (1814) vii. 190 and in *Works* vi. 212. Monck Mason notes: 'This name is assumed by Sheridan, in his preface to the *Art of Punning*, which favours the opinion of its having been written by him.' It is worth noting, however, that the copy in the Wagner Collection (Y.C.L.) has a MS. note under the title, ascribing it to—Mollineaux, F. C., of Trinity College.)

42. Woods Reviv'd, Or A Short Defence Of His Proceedings In Bristol, London, &c. In Reference To The Kingdom of Ireland.

Printed in the Year 1724-5.

8vo. 14 pages.

B.M.; T.C.D.; Y.C.L.

(A late pamphlet in ridicule of Wood's ambitions, which now do not seem likely to be fulfilled. If the Drapier had been so wise and good-natur'd as to have directed a copy of his first Letter to Wood in Bristol, he should never have had occasion for a Second. Now he has got nothing by it but praise for overcoming an insignificant Brazier, whose honesty is beginning to be doubted even in England. Refers to a proposal that the Patent should be laid before the House: 'The Honourable Mr. *Shippen* (Lord

that I shou'd have the Misfortune to deal with *honest Men*) has emphatically condemn'd and executed me, he sais he hopes to see my PATENT laid before the *House*, which is as much as to say, he hopes to see me *hang'd*, and *Gibbeted*; for that I shall certainly be if it comes under their Inspection.' (pp. 11-12.)

43. The Case Of John Browne Esq;

London: Printed in the Year M.DCC.XXV.

8vo. 16 pages.

Haliday.

(Wagner notes this as Browne's reply to Swift's attacks upon him in the Third Letter. 'He claims that having been forced to leave Ireland on account of the unjust prosecution against him by the House of Commons, he took refuge in London. While frequenting the Coffee-houses he had stated that there was a demand for a reasonable supply of copper-coins in Ireland. This coming to the ears of Wood, he had been summoned to appear before the Committee of Inquiry and voted into custody, and thus obliged to give evidence.' He also insists that he had himself used the method of issuing tickets to his workmen, which he had afterwards redeemed. He defends himself against the charges made against him in Ireland, but he makes no attack upon the Drapier. See below, and *note* to p. 37, l. 6.)

44. The Case Of John Browne, Esq; In Answer to a Libel, intituled, Observations upon the Report of the Committee of Council in England, relating to Wood's Half-Pence. By M. B. Draper. . . .

London: Printed for L. Lawler, at the Hat and Feather in St Martin's Lane, near the Church, 1725.

8vo. 29 pages.

Bod.; Goldsmiths (pp. 9-16 missing).

(It is difficult to say whether this is an adaptation of the paper just described, either by Browne himself or at the instigation of Wood; for it contains a violent attack on the 'Drapier' at every point using material drawn chiefly from the *Tale of a Tub*. He is concerned at first to answer the charges brought against him in the House of Commons, and his subsequent dealings in England; but the last part is wholly devoted to Swift—a pure Grub-Street piece: he was 'a Parish Boy, who by the Sprightliness of his Repartee, happened to get into the good Graces of a neigh-

bouring Lady. . . . From thence he came to *London*, and in the Reign of a Prince, who design'd the Ruin of the Church of England; he was preferred to the G——n, having first *manifested his Zeal*, by the *Tale of a T*—. In this Station he continued, making the best of his living by his *Pen*, which he lett out *like a Swiss*, to them who were willing to *pay* the most for it. . . . he was preferred to a *considerable Drapery* in another Kingdom; where, since His Majesty's *Happy Accession*, by the *wonderful Harmony* of the Times, he lived, in a manner, despised and neglected, 'till the *Heats* of late so *industriously* fomented, assisted with *proper Hints*, have again brought the *Insect* to Life, and rendered him as active with his Pen as we *now* see him.' (pp. 24–6.) As Browne succeeded in convincing Swift that he was not so infamous as the charges against him would suggest, it is perhaps safer to assume that he was not responsible for this attack. See also *note* to p. 37, l. 6.)

45. A New Dialogue Between Two Beggars Upon the Passing of Wood's Coin. By M. B.

Dublin. Printed, by G. N. in Crane-Lane, 1724.

8vo. 8 pages.

N.L.D.

(First noticed by Wagner, who suggests that it must have been written during the agitation in Parliament against the Coin. And the following references prove that, in spite of the date on the title-page, it must have been written before Sept. 9, 1723: '... if Wood gets a Patent for coining 50 Tun of Half-Pence and Farthings, as it is reported he hath got already.' (p. 3.) 'I hope the Parliament will take the Matter into their Consideration, and order it so that they may not pass.' (p. 8.)

Thus a pamphlet was written with the signature M. B. containing some of the arguments of the first of the *Drapier's Letters* six months before that letter was written. Did Swift then borrow 'M. B.' from this dialogue between the two beggars Murtagh and Bryan? It is at least a curious coincidence.

I have, however, put this at the end rather than at the beginning of my list, because it is possible that it was not actually published till late in 1724, when probably anything with this signature would be saleable.)

APPENDIX III

A. Verse written by, or attributed to, the Drapier

1. Punch's Petition to the Ladies.

Broadside.

(This refers only indirectly to Wood's Halfpence, in an appeal on behalf of the Dublin puppet-show during the winter 1723-4 against a tax demanded by the master of the revels.¹ Wilde speaks of seeing this broadside (*Closing Years of Swift's Life*, 2nd edit., p. 171), but it is very doubtful whether Swift wrote it. Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 587; *Aldine*, iii. 222.)

2. Ireland's Warning, Being an Excellent New Song, upon Woods's Base Half-pence. To the Tune of Packinton's Pound.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court.

Broadside, printed in double columns.

B.M.; N.L.D.; *Forster*.

(This seems to have been written soon after the publication of the First Drapier Letter, which is referred to in the concluding stanzas, e.g.

Ye *Shop-Men*, and *Trades-Men*, and *Farmers*, go Read it,
For I think in my Soul at this Time that you need it,
Or I gad if you don't there 's an END of your CREDIT,
Which no Body can deny.

The clumsiness of many of the lines and the rather weak repetition of some of the points from the First Letter make it difficult to believe that Swift had anything to do with it.

Reprinted in *Whartoniana*, 1727, and by Nichols in 1776. *Aldine*, iii. 109.)

3. A Serious Poem Upon William Wood, Brazier, Tinker, Hard-Ware-Man, Coiner, Counterfeiter, Founder and Esquire.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court.

Folio, half-sheet, 2 pages.

Forster.

(Evidently written after the procession with Wood's effigies on

¹ Further details concerning this and the following verses will be found in *Swift's Verse* by Dr. Elrington Ball (John Murray, 1928), pp. 178-207.

Sept. 8, and published on Sept. 17, 1724, as advertised in Harding's *Dublin News Letter*, for Sept. 15. Also appeared in Boyer's *Political State of Gr. Britain*, Sept. 1724, and in the London *British Journal* for Oct. 3, 1724. Reprinted by Faulkner—*Works* (1763), xi. 337. *Aldine*, iii. 113.)

4. An excellent New Song Upon the Declarations of the several Corporations of the City of Dublin against Woods's Halfpence. To the Tune of London is a fine Town &c. Broadside, printed in double columns.

Forster.

(As most of these declarations date from late August and Sept. 1724, this was probably written about that time. But it is hardly good enough to be accepted as Swift's work.

Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 486; *Aldine*, iii. 117.)

5. Epigram on Wood's Brass-Money.

From *Works* (1746), viii. 317 (*Aldine*, iii. 99).

(Evidently written on the occasion of Carteret's arrival in Dublin, Oct. 22, 1724.)

6. To The Citizens.

Dublin: Printed by G. Needham, 1724.

Broadside.

Forster; B.M.

(This was written shortly after the Proclamation against the Drapier, Oct. 27, 1724, as it is referred to in a letter of Tickell of Nov. 1st—see Introduction, p. xlv. In spite of the signature M.B. it was certainly not by Swift, but probably by the same hand as *A New Dialogue Between Two Beggars Upon the Passing of Wood's Coin* also published by G. Needham—see above p. 373. Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 579; *Aldine*, iii. 220.)

7. To his Grace The Arch-Bishop of Dublin, A Poem.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court in Fishamble-Street.

Broadside.

Forster; B.M.

(Probably written after it was known that Archbishop King had refused to sign the Proclamation against the Drapier. Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 586; *Aldine*, iii. 219.)

8. An Excellent New Song Upon his Grace Our good Lord Archbishop of Dublin. By honest Jo. one of His Grace's Farmers in Fingal:

To the Tune of . . .

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court, 1724.
Broadside.

Gilbert; B.M.

(Appeared in *Whartoniana*, 1727. Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 583; *Aldine*, iii. 216.)

9. Prometheus, A Poem.

Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724.
Broadside.

Forster; B.M.; T.C.D.; N.L.D.; Bradshaw; Gilbert; &c.

(Probably not written before Nov. 1724, as it did not reach England until Dec. if we may judge from a reference to it in a letter of Stratford's, mentioned by Ball. (*Corr.* iii. 226 n.) Reprinted with the *Drapier's Letters* in 1725, 1730, 1735. *Aldine*, iii. 103.)

10. An Excellent New Song Upon The Late Grand-Jury.

Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1724.
Broadside.

Forster; Bradshaw; B.M.

(This was written after the dissolving of the Grand-Jury on Nov. 21, 1724. Reprinted by Scott—*Works* (1814), x. 581; *Aldine*, iii. 214.)

11. Whitshed's Motto on his Coach.

Libertas & natale Solum.

Liberty and my native Country.

From *Works* (1735), ii. 279 (*Aldine*, iii. 97).

(This and the following verses evidently also written at the end of November 1724.)

12. Verses on the upright Judge, who condemned the Drapier's Printer.

Written in the Year 1724.

From *Works* (1735), ii. 468 (*Aldine*, iii. 121).

13. A Simile, On Our Want of Silver, and the only Way to remedy it.

Written in the Year 1725.

From *Works* (1735), ii. 361 (*Aldine*, iii. 100).

14. On Wood the Iron-monger.

Written in the Year 1725.

From *Works* (1735), ii. 363 (*Aldine*, iii. 106).

15. Wood, an Insect.

Written in the Year 1725.

From *Works* (1735), ii. 365 (*Aldine*, iii. 101).

16. Will. Wood's Petition to the People of Ireland, being an excellent New Song.

Supposed to be made and sung in the Streets of Dublin, by William Wood, Iron-monger and Half-penny-monger, 1725.

From *Works* (1746), viii. 315 (*Aldine*, iii. 107).

17. Drapier's Hill.

From *The Hibernian Patriot* (1730), p. 264 (*Aldine*, ii. 320).

(Written during Swift's visit to the Achesons at Market Hill in the summer of 1729, when he purchased a piece of land near by, where he intended to build a house to be called Drapier's Hill. It appeared first in the *Dublin Weekly Journal* for Sept. 13, 1729, with the title *Drapier's Hall*, with the following note: 'The following POEM being upon a Certain *Dean* who has purchased a Piece of Ground from a certain Gentleman in the Country, call'd, Sir Arthur, and is building a fine House upon it, which he calls *Draiper's* [*sic*]-Hall, at the Request of the said Sir *Arthur*, we are persuaded it will not be unacceptable to the Publick.' See also *Introd.*, p. xcii.

B. Other Verse concerning Wood's Coinage

1. Lines from an Epilogue spoken at the Dublin Theatre.

London Weekly Journal or Saturday's Post. No. 299, July 18, 1724.

B.M.

(Only a little joke, perhaps sufficiently indicated by the following quotation:

We have heard indeed, of happy Days of old,
 When beauteous Nymphs were worth their Weight in Gold,
 And at this Day, shou'd *Woods's* Counters pass,
 Perhaps you'd think us worth our Weight—in *Brass*:
 We thank you kindly, such *ungodly Metals*
 Will better suit your *Foreheads*, or our *Kettles*. &c.)

2. Remarks Upon The Report of the Committee Of The Lords of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy-Council, in Relation to Mr. Woods's Half-pence.

By Samuel Owens, Lock-smith.

Printed in the Year, MDCCXXIV.

Broadside.

Forster; Bradshaw.

(Very poor doggerel, referring to the recent Report, and hoping that before the Hilary Term Wood may be brought to suffer for his misdeeds. Clearly dates from August 1724.)

3. A True Character Of The Wooden Monster Arch Enemy to Ireland.

By no Friend to William Wood.

Dublin: Printed by R. Dickson opposite the Bear in Crane-Lane, 1724.

Folio, half-sheet, 2 pages.

Forster.

(A crude attack, including a reference to Browne, and dating probably from Aug.-Sept. 1724.)

4. A Letter From Aminadab Firebrass Quaker Merchant, To M.B. Drapier.

Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's-Cour[t].

Broadside.

Forster; T.C.D.

(Declaring the fame of the Drapier and promising him the Freedom of every Corporation in Ireland. This indicates November 1724 as the date, when it was proposed to grant Swift the freedom of the City of Dublin.)

5. Blue-skin's Ballad. To the Tune of Packington's Pound.

Printed in the Year 1724-5.

Broadside.

⁹ Forster; B.M.

(Refers to Wood only in the last stanza:

What a Pother is here with *Woods* and his Brass
Who wou'd modestly make a few Halfpennies pass;
The Patent is good, and the Precedent's old,
For *Diomed* changed his Copper for Gold;
But if *Ireland* despise
The new Halfpennies
More safely to rob on the Road I advise,
For *Blueskin's* sharp Penknife has set you at Ease,
And ev'ry Man round me may rob if he please.

These verses have been attributed to Gay, but Dr. Ball thinks it more likely that they are Swift's. They refer to the attempted murder of the informer Jonathan Wild by Joseph Blake, who was hanged on Nov. 11, 1724.)

6. A New Poem Ascrib'd To the Honble. the Gentlemen of the Late Grand-Jury.

Dublin, Printed by G. Needham in Crane-Lane.
Broadside.

Forster; B.M.

(An eulogy mentioning by name the true Patriots of the Grand-Jury 'who'd bear a *Mighty Frown*

And yet be just to Country and to Crown.'

Dates probably from early December 1724.)

7. An Ode Humbly inscribed to the Honourable William Con . . . ly Esq;

Broadside.

B.M.

(An imitation of Horace, with special reference to the indiscretions of the Fourth Letter:

Whilst I maintain my Country's Cause,
And vindicate her Rights and Laws,
Too honest to be much aware
My Friends cry'd out, *I went too far!*)

8. Tyburn's Courteous Invitation To William Wood, Esq;
Written by Mr. Shippen.

Wood's Melancholy Complaint Written by Sir R—d S—le.

Folio, half-sheet, 2 pages.

B.M.

(Evidently two pieces of the ballad-mongers who continued the game when Swift was tired of it.)

9. On Wisdom's Defeat in a Learned Debate.

Dublin: Printed by Sarah Harding on the Blind-Key, 1725.
Broadside.

B.M. (2); *Bradshaw*; N.L.D.

(An ironical comment on a motion of Archbishop King in the House of Lords that the King should be thanked for his 'great wisdom' in ending the Patent. See *Intro.*, p. lxvi.)

10. Mr. Woods to all the People of Ireland.

Printed in the Year, 1727.

Broadside.

(As I have found no copy in any Collection, nor any reference to it whatever, I give the full text, from a photostat of the broadside, very kindly lent to me by Messrs. Pickering and Chatto, London. The date must, I think, be incorrect; it sounds as though it was written in 1724, and it is not likely to have been reprinted, when all the excitement was over.)

Mr. WOODS to all the PEOPLE of IRELAND

YE People of *Ireland*, how comes it to pass,
Tho' *Change* be so scarce, that ye won't take my *Brass*?
For if it be true (as I lately am told)
That ye have not a *Penny* among you but *Gold*,
In Time I'm afraid, and I speak from my Soul,
You'll give *half a Guinea* for one *Penny Roll*.

I wisely fore-seeing *small Cash* wou'd be scant,
Have coin'd you two *Millions* for Fear ye shou'd want;
You see what the People of *England* do reap hence,
How rich they are grown by receiving my *Half-pence*!
My *Tinckers* and *Braziers* have made them so plenty,
For one *Farthing* formerly, now they have twenty,

The *Black-Guards* of *London* all now find the sweets
Of taking my *Coin* as it lies in the Streets,
Your *Black-Guards* of *Dublin* must surely be undone,
If not on a *Par* with the *Black-Guards* of *London*.

' Alass! my dear *Irish-Joys* what can bewitch you
To keep out *my Brass*, when I mean to enrich you?
Believe me, MY FRIENDS, ye are strangely misled,
By a damnable, obstinate, *DRAPIER*, your *Head*;
Who by his *false Reasons*, which gives me Surprise,
Has clouded your Judgments, and blinded your Eyes.

Now think what you will on't, your *DRAPIER's* a poor-
Goose;

Compare his advice with the Laws of *Lycurgus*,
Who Ventur'd both *Silver* and *Gold* to debase;
Who brought in large Pieces of *Brass* in their Place;
For *Silver* and *Gold* did Corruptions create,
And therefore with *Brass* he reform'd the State.
My Reasons you see are as clear as the Sun,
That any Man living may read 'em and run,

I hope you're convinc'd for your Sakes that I make 'em,
Then shou'd not good Manners oblige you to take 'em?

Another good Reason, I think, I have hit on,
Why shou'd not you take 'em as well as *Great-Britain*?
You know how to lay out your Money as well,
To *Bargain*, to *purchase*, to *buy* and to *sell*.

Another good Reason I'd have you to know,
Tho' little in Value, 'twill make a *great Shew*.

Stay, let me compute, *ten Guineas*, I think——
Just fills you a *Wheel-barrow* full to the Brink.

A thousand of *Silver* and *Gold* in a Night,
A Robber can take off, because it is light;
But of my *Brass Half-pence*, on Trial, 'tis found,
He'll hardly be able to carry *ten pound*.
For which I have made up *this Coin* for the Nonce,
That no honest Man can be ruin'd at once.
If this be not true may my *Head* prove a *Scald-Pole*
To stick on a Jayl, on the top of a *Tall-Pole*.

C. Verse written in praise of the Drapier

1. The Drapier's Ballad. To the Tune of the London 'Prentice.
Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court,
1724-5.

Broadside, printed in double columns.

Forster; B.M.

(This was reprinted as Song III in *Fraud Detected* and in *The Hibernian Patriot*, where it is attributed to Dr. Thomas Sheridan.)

2. The Drapier Anatomiz'd: A Song.

A New Song Sung at the Club at Mr Taplin's, The Sign of the Drapier's Head in Truck-Street.¹ To the Tune of the Apprentices Song in Massonary.

Dublin: Printed in the Year, M DCCXXIV.

Broadside, printed in double columns.

Forster; B.M.; *Bradshaw*.

(The second of these was reprinted in *Fraud Detected* and in *The Hibernian Patriot*, where it is attributed to Mr. Witheral.)

3. A Second Song, Sung at the Club at Mr. Taplin's The Sign of the Drapier's-Head in Truck-Street.

Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCXXV.

Broadside.

Forster.

(This was reprinted in *Fraud Detected* and in *The Hibernian Patriot*, where it is attributed to Mr. Charles Shadwell.)

4. New Songs, Sung at the Club at Mr Taplin's, &c.
Songs IV and V.

From *Fraud Detected*, pp. 223-4, and *The Hibernian Patriot*, pp. 261-3.

5. To the worthy Author of the Drapier's Letters, by a Youth of Fourteen Years of Age.

From *Fraud Detected*, pp. 13-14, and *The Hibernian Patriot*, pp. 252-3.

¹ Mr. T. F. Higgins, who is preparing a book on *Signs of Old Dublin*, very kindly sent me the following list of Signs of the Drapier's Head in Dublin, other than this well-known one in Truck Street. Patrick Street; College Green; Francis Street (a draper!); Mary's Lane; Temple Bar; Nicholas Street; Kevin Street; Castle Street; Chequer Lane (now Exchequer St.); Dame Street; Bridgefoot Street.

6. The Donore Ballad. Inscrib'd to the Praise of the worthy M. B. Drapier. Written on the occasion of putting up his Head in Truck-street.

Dublin: Printed by C. Carter, 1724-5.

Broadside.

B.M.

7. A Congratulatory Poem on Dean Swift's Return to Town. By a Member of the Club, held at Mr. Taplin's in Truck-Street, Oct. 7th. 1725.

Dublin: Printed in the Year, 1725.

Broadside.

B.M.

(Other poems written by Samuel Owens and Robert Ashton, Swift's 'Under Spur-leathers' are listed by Dr. Ball in *Swift's Verse*, pp. 332-3.)

APPENDIX IV

Imitations of the Drapier's Letters

1. A Letter to the People of Ireland. By M. B. Draper.
Dublin: Printed and Sold by Thomas Hume . . . in Essex-street,
1729.
8vo. 16 pages.
Bod.; *Haliday.*

(Signed at the end PUBLICOLA, and dated *Dublin*, the 28th of *August*, 1729. It is concerned with the miseries of the people of Ireland, and protests against the evil done by those who spend their incomes abroad, or in buying foreign goods, by usurers, and those who turn their land into Pasture for Cattle, and neglect the sowing of grain. Ends with an apology for the title:

‘My affixing the *Drapier's* Name before this Paper, was an innocent Fraud, and I doubt not, but even that Gentleman will pardon me, when I tell him I had no other way to make myself look'd on, but through his means; it rais'd the Reader's expectation, and gain'd a little Prejudice in my favour, and was a sort of Warrant for its being accepted. But yet I am sure all my Overseers have found out the Cheat long before this, for there is something in the Stile of the *Drapier*, so elevated, that my poor Expressions could not arrive at, and I had more Justice than to let his Character lye under the Imputation of this Piece, that is barren of every thing but Truth, . . .’)

2. The Case of Many Thousand poor Inhabitants of Dublin: In a Letter to a worthy Member of Parliament, concerning the extravagant Rates and Price of Coal in this City, with a Recommendation for the importing Kilkenny-Coals here, from Ross and Waterford, and other Ports of this Kingdom.

The second Impression with a Postscript, by M.B.

Dublin: Printed by Christopher Dickson, in the Post Office Yard in Sycomore-Alley, 1729.

8vo. 8 pages.

Haliday.

(This was a reprint of two letters from the *Dublin Weekly Journal* for August 9 and 16. This copy is badly cut. Probably above the title was inscribed (like the following Supplement) *To all the House Keepers of the City of Dublin*. Reprinted by Scott, *Works* (1814), vii. 409-21. Such a scheme was perhaps

- an attempt to put in practice Swift's proposals, but I doubt whether he lent it more support than perhaps the use of the Drapier's name. A reply, entitled *Animadversions on several Proposals . . . for Supplying of the City of Dublin with Coal, &c.*, refers to 'One Paper publicly cry'd about the Streets under a very popular Title'. A third letter published in the *Dublin Weekly Journal* for Oct. 25, 1729, was also reprinted by Dickson, entitled *A Supplement to the Drapier's Letter in the behalf of many Thousand poor Inhabitants of this City, &c.*, also reprinted by Scott, *Works* (1814), vii. 422.)
3. The Drapier Reviv'd: or Considerations on the Inconveniences which the People of Ireland labour under for the Want of Small Change; with the Reason thereof; and a modest Proposal to remedy the same.
By J. B. Esq:
Dublin: Printed in the Year 1731. 12mo. 8 pages. R.I.A.
(This is of no importance, and only listed to show the renewed advertisement value of the Drapier after the appearance of the *Modest Proposal*.)
4. The Drapier's Letter to the Good People of Ireland.
Dublin: Printed in the Year 1745.
8vo. 8 pages.
Haliday. R.I.A.
(This—followed by a *Second Letter* shortly afterwards—was a definite imitation of the style of the Drapier. It was addressed to poorer Papists, pointing out the dangers of joining the '45 Rebellion. It begins: 'It is now some considerable Time since I troubled you with my Advice; and, as I am growing old and infirm, I was in good Hopes to be quickly laid in my Grave, before any Occasion offered of addressing you again: . . .' and is signed 'Your old and faithful Friend. The Drapier.' It has been attributed to Chesterfield. 'Dean Swift was still alive, when Lord Chesterfield arrived, but reduced to a state of total dotage and insensibility, which one month after ended in his death. This short interval was laid hold of, to publish under his name a new letter of a drapier to the good people of Ireland, and particularly to the poor Papists. It was so much in the dean's stile, and was so greedily received, that it went through a variety of editions in a month's time. Indeed the many strokes of wit and humour that it contained, would induce me to suspect that

his lordship had some share in it.'—*Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield*, by M. Maty (London, 1777, i. 157).)

5. The Farmer's Letter to the Protestants of Ireland. Number I. *Dublin: Printed by George Faulkner, MDCCXLV.*
8vo. 8 pages. N.L.D.

(The first of six letters, which set a fashion for a new kind of imitation as shown by the following pamphlets. Referred to in an attack on Faulkner—entitled *The Drapier's Apparition To G—e F—r, A New Poem*, 1745. (T.C.D.)

Deep plunged in thought to please his Betters,
Studdying new *Puffs* for *Farmers letters*,
Bethinking of a hundred Shifts
What next to print and pass for *Swift's* . . .)

6. A Letter To The Free-Citizens of Dublin.

By A. Freeman, Barber and Citizen.

Dublin: Printed in the Year 1747. 8vo. 8 pages.

N.L.D. and R.I.A.—Copies of the fourth edition.

(This and a second letter of the same kind are examples of penny pamphlets in the Drapier fashion.)

7. A Letter to the Tradesmen, Farmers And the rest of the Good People of Ireland. Very proper to be read in all Families, at this Critical Juncture. By L. B. Haberdasher and Citizen of Dublin.

Dublin: Printed in the Year MDCCCLIV.

8vo. 36 pages.

N.L.D.—copies of the first and second editions.

(A dull paper by one of the loyalist party, apart from the title having borrowed nothing from the Drapier.)

8. A Letter to the Right Honourable the Lord——, Occasion'd by a Pamphlet, just publish'd, Entitled, Thoughts on the affairs of Ireland, With an Account of the Expulsion of A—r J—s N—ll, Esq; Late Surveyor and Engineer General, From the Hon. the H—se of C—mm—ns in that Kingdom. . . .
By M. B. Drapier.

London: Printed for M. Cooper at the Globe, in Pater-noster-Row. M,DCC,LIV.

N.L.D.

“ (Concerned to prove the falsehood of the position maintained in the pamphlet, that the Irish are setting up for an Independency of England.)

9. A Drapier's Address to the Good People of England, Upon the Causes of the Present Dearthness of Provisions, &c.

London: Printed for T. Longman, in Pater-noster Row, M,DCC,LXXIII.

8vo. 43 pages.

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(A dull pamphlet against enclosures, &c. No connexion with Swift except the title and the signature, 'A Drapier'.)

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